



# ***The Cominform***

***1947 - 1956***

# ***TABLE OF CONTENTS***

## ***PART I***

### ***1***

***The Place of the Cominform in the History of the World Communist Movement***

***On the critical revision of the revisionist historiography***

### ***2***

***The Cominform***

**- Chronological table - organisational structure - participants - tasks - about the  
3 conferences - dissolution of the Cominform**

## **PART II**

### **3**

**Relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform**

### **4**

**The revisionist "Shdanov thesis" of the two world camps**

**5**

**The Cominform and the question of people's democracy as a "modern type" of the dictatorship of the proletariat**

**- proletarian or bourgeois democracy? the revisionist degeneration of the people's democracies - causes.**

**6**

**The Cominform and the national question**

**Struggle against the revisionist "specific-national road to socialism".**

**7**

**The Cominform in the struggle against Tito's "Balkan Federation".**

**8**

**The Cominform in the struggle against Titoism**

**9**

**The Cominform and the revisionist degeneration of the communist parties in the capitalist countries**

**10**

**The Cominform and the revisionist degeneration of the CPSU (B)**

**11**

**The Cominform and Maoism**

**PART III**

**12**

**The Cominform, Enver Hoxha and the SVR ALBANIA**

**13**

**The Cominform and its Firm Place in the Epoch of World Socialism**

**PART I**

**1**

# **The Place of the Cominform in the History of the World Communist Movement**

**- On the critical revision of the revisionist historiography**

**This is only our momentary assessment of the history of the Cominform and it cannot be anything else, because documents are still missing or continue to be falsified, interpreted anti-communistically and "revised" - all in the service of the ruling class. With this caveat, corrections of our views on the Cominform, taking into account new documents, are not only allowed, but also desirable and indispensable.**

**The historical truth only comes to light through a sharp proletarian class struggle, which is why we want to encourage all communists interested in the truth to actively participate in the reappraisal of the history of the Cominform, and to help us liberate the proletarian historiography from its bourgeois-revisionist falsification.**

**In particular, the historiography of the Cominform and the socialist camp has been significantly falsified by the modern revisionists. The fact is that this falsification of history still has a negative, even determining influence on today's communist world movement. We have to face this challenge if we want to be taken seriously.**

**For us, this necessary correction of the revisionist historiography of the Cominform (and its "revision" by historians of western capitalism) is new territory, which is why we cannot do it without mistakes. For example, we have to be careful that our criticism does not overshoot the mark. We must strictly adhere to dialectical and historical materialism in order to avoid mistakes in the opposite direction - mistakes of sectarianism, mistakes of dogmatism. We are aware of this counter-danger. But that does not stop us from doing what we are obliged to do:**

**Only we Stalinist-Hoxhaists are destined and capable of cutting neo-revisionism's umbilical cord to the womb of modern revisionism cleanly and without complications. It is in this direction that we have written this critique of the Cominform.**

**We are equally aware that the modern revisionists in particular have blamed the mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses of the Cominform on comrade Stalin and it is in this sense that the neo-revisionists operate, albeit under the cloak of the "4½ classics of Marxism-Leninism".**

**It is quite clear that the historians of the modern revisionists used the method of bourgeois ideology, namely to criticise everything about the Cominform that was Stalinist and to present as allegedly "Stalinist" everything that was revisionist. The ideological formation of the power of the modern revisionists is based on "Stalinism" in words and anti-Stalinism in deeds. And in this way they have also harnessed the Cominform to their cart - especially after Stalin's death!**

**The truth is:**

**The Cominform was created by Stalin with the intention to counteract the ongoing process of ideological flattening of Stalinism, to push back the growing influence of revisionism and social-democratism in the world communist movement, to purify Marxism-Leninism tainted by revisionism and to purge the revisionists from the world communist movement in general and from the world Stalinist camp in particular.**

**This was welcomed in particular by comrade Enver Hoxha and it is the documents of the Party of Labour of Albania that defended, supported and propagated the Comintern (SH) on the anti-revisionist meaning of the Cominform from the beginning. In this direction, we defend the Albanians against all their critics. We must realise the fact that Hoxhaism, which perfected and developed Stalin's critique of modern revisionism, was still in its infancy at the time of the Cominform. Today we have the complete weapon of Hoxhaism and with it we can critically illuminate the Cominform, which is impossible without Hoxhaism.**

**Seventy years have passed since the founding of the Cominform. In these years, especially after the partial opening of the archives, we have come to see documents that give us much more critical insight into the history of the Kominform than comrade Enver Hoxha and the PAA were able to do at the time. Today, as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist, one can and must absolutely look critically at the history of the Cominform on the basis of new findings.**

**As is well known, the proletarian ideology is by its very nature a critical ideology and can only remain alive and continue to develop if it deals critically with history, including the mistakes made by us communists.**

**From the standpoint of the time, the Cominform was roughly assessed with the following rule of thumb: "The Cominform was Stalinist - its dissolution by Khrushchev was revisionist." This rule of thumb is in any case no longer tenable and urgently needs to be revised on the basis of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.**

**We will certainly be criticised for being "wrong" with our critical revision, but this does not change the fundamental necessity of revising our previous view of the Cominform, which was anything but uncritical. On the contrary.**

**Anyone who has read our website on the**

**[Cominform](#)**

**which has existed since 2013, will not be able to overlook the introductory sentence:**

**The Comintern (SH) has a critical standpoint towards the dominant influence of the modern revisionists within the COMINFORM.**

**All the more it is necessary to study these historical documents in order to open our eyes and expose the modern revisionists.**

**But only now have we found the time to fill our critique of the Cominform with content and to ground it theoretically.**

**So those who have not criticised our revision before and are only now beginning their criticism cannot accuse us of opportunism or any "180 degree turn". From the beginning, we have dealt with the history of the Cominform just as critically as with the history of the Comintern.**

**And those who wantonly equate our revision with "revisionism", who present it as a "proof" of the "falsification of Marxism-Leninism", are and remain dogmatists and sectarians. It may be that we have not yet seen one or the other correctly, we will continue to work on that. But in essence, our revision of the history of the Cominform is based on the firm ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism and that is the decisive thing.**

**Only the bourgeoisie and its agents in the camp of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement have an interest in our not correcting our mistakes. For the world proletariat, on the other hand, the correction of our mistakes is directional and thus of decisive importance for the victory of the world socialist revolution, which is why it will fundamentally welcome any correct criticism and self-criticism of the Comintern (SH). Without overcoming our own mistakes, world imperialism cannot be defeated.**

**Without self-critical assessment and demarcation from revisionist positions of the Comintern, we expose ourselves to the danger of appropriation by such political organisations that do not represent the position of Stalin and Enver Hoxha, but only abuse it as lip service to deceive the world proletariat. We reject a neo-revisionist unity on the basis of anti-Marxist positions as propagated in the Cominform. Unity with the Comintern (SH) will only exist on the correct positions of the Cominform, even if they were dominated by the predominantly wrong positions. This presupposes that we demarcate and separate the correct positions of the Cominform from revisionist positions in the Cominform, which have been advocated not only by the CPJ but also by all other parties in the Cominform without exception, albeit more or less concealed by phraseology.**



**Our criticism and self-criticism is not for the purpose of declaring the Cominform useless, an "error of history". We are not liquidators, quite the contrary. We are Stalinist-Hoxhaists who defend the Stalinist line of the Cominform. And we defend the Stalinist line of the Cominform by liberating it retrospectively from its revisionist fetters, so that the new Cominform becomes useful to us on our way to the restoration of the world socialist camp.**

**The Bolshevik essence of criticism and self-criticism is to RESTLESSLY reject wrong views and actions and replace them with correct ones. Word and deed must coincide in this. And even with this we cannot be satisfied, because the enemy will not joyfully welcome our criticism and self-criticism, but will fight it with all means. Only our false or imperfect criticism and self-criticism will be welcomed by the enemy, because it diverts us from our revolutionary path and thus benefits not us but our class enemies. And even if the agents of the bourgeoisie within our own ranks "welcome" our criticism and self-criticism in words, they do so not out of honest conviction but only for reasons of their camouflage. So we must never allow the neo-revisionists to turn the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which we use correctly, against ourselves. On the basis of a) the cover-up of mistakes of the Comintern and the Cominform and b) their half-hearted, faulty or incomplete "correction", we cannot rebuild these two indispensable instruments of the world proletariat and the world communist movement. We want to and must rebuild the Comintern and the Cominform. But we do this only on the solid teachings of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, through correct application of the Bolshevik principle of criticism and self-criticism.**

**What was right and what was wrong?**

**The Cominform was undoubtedly in the hands of Stalin in the beginning.**

**But - contrary to the prevailing opinion - the modern revisionists already had their hands in it during his lifetime. From the beginning, the Cominform was infiltrated and backstabbed by the modern revisionists, only to fall completely into the hands of the modern revisionists after Stalin's death. Almost all the Cominform delegates were only in words "Stalinists" and that from the very beginning. In historical retrospect, facts show that not a single member of the Cominform went the way of Stalin, the way of Marxism-Leninism. They sooner or later turned out to be declared opponents of Stalin and held leading posts within the revisionist world camp. Most of the delegates of the Cominform were traitors to the revolution and socialism, traitors to Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, traitors to socialist Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha. And here our demarcation line does not run only after the death of comrade Stalin. The course for the conquest of power by the revisionists began even before that.**

**In the age of the internet, young people in particular are more influenced by images and especially by historical images than by written texts, which the bourgeoisie exploits extensively with its multi-layered manipulations. Whoever has the material power in this world also rules over the internet and thus over the power of disinformation. For example, there are many pictures from the time of the Cominform and the socialist world camp that are supposed to give the impression of authenticity, that they would exactly reflect the reality of that time 1:1. This is called visual transfiguration (rose-coloured glasses) of history. However, reality was by no means as it was portrayed in the propaganda pictures of the revisionists. Even our comrades are not free from not looking critically enough at such historical images. One must not indulge in any wishful thinking, but look at history as it was, not subjectively but objectively. Illusions have never been a good advisor for the world revolution.**

**Let us take the current war preparations of world imperialism as an example, including the warmongers of the Russian imperialists led by Putin. Putin is not only trying to get the fascists on his side, but also the social fascists. How does Putin do this? Very cleverly, because he was a KGB officer. The social fascists have received the order from him to make the criminal transformation of the socialist world camp into a revisionist world camp disappear behind the banner of Stalin, in order to lure the Stalinists like rabbits into Putin's kitchen. The social fascists use these old images from the time of the Cominform to hide the hypocrisy of the revisionists towards Stalin at that time, and finally to present the crimes of the revisionists as "merits of Stalin". Putin owed his rise to power to none other than the Soviet revisionists and the Stalinists are supposed to applaud this ! Those who refuse to applaud and have seen through Putin's demagoguery and the demagoguery of his social-fascist lackeys are accused of being "Trotskyists". These accusations come from the camp of the neo-revisionists - especially against the Comintern (SH). The neo-revisionists are stooges of precisely such leaders of imperialism as Putin is. What we want to say is this: The critical attitude towards the Comintern is not a history topic just to refresh or broaden our historical knowledge. It is not just about an attitude, but about the use of an ideological weapon in today's class struggle, which shoots us down the road to the victory of the world socialist revolution. The analysis, evaluation and generalisation of both positive and negative experiences with the Cominform should ultimately enable us to raise the communication and cooperation of the sections of the Comintern (SH) to a higher level under the future conditions of world socialism.**

**For all these reasons, it is therefore necessary to take a closer look at this so-called "socialism" of the revisionists at the time of the Cominform, at the time of the emergence of the people's democracies - with the Marxist method of historical and dialectical materialism. We Stalinists-Hoxhaists must never forget that from the nationalist road to "socialism", i.e. on the bourgeois road to "socialism", social fascism inevitably had to develop with its present-day consequences, as can be seen in reactionary nationalism, xenophobia, open fascism, etc. in the former Eastern bloc countries.**

**Let us return to the Cominform.**

**In the final analysis, Stalin's Cominform was dissolved by the modern revisionists, as had happened before with Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. It was the modern revisionists in the individual countries of the Eastern bloc who destroyed the path of the people's democracies to socialism from below. And it was the Soviet revisionists who destroyed Stalin's socialist camp from above. Those modern revisionists who, through hypocrisy in the Cominform, evaded Stalin's purges (from above AND below) were also the same ones who were later responsible for the criminal purges against us Stalinists.**

**In short, our scientific work on the truth of the Cominform must be continued in the light of new knowledge, which will inevitably lead to self-critical corrections of our present critical assessment.**

**So we are not defending the Cominform wholesale, just as we are not criticising it wholesale. We look a little more closely behind the scenes. We defend only what was Stalinist about the Cominform, while criticising everything else that we consider revisionist about it, namely "Stalinist" in words and anti-Stalinist in deeds.**

**In 1956, with the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, the modern revisionists were firmly in the saddle and could thus completely and definitively drop their previous mask of "Stalinism", which they had still used in the Cominform period. And consequently, it was not by chance that 1956 was the year of the dissolution of the Cominform, that the Cominform was finally buried as a "relic of the ill-fated Stalin era".**

**On the basis of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, the Comintern (SH) will continue the criticism of modern revisionism also on the question of the Cominform. We are aware that in doing so we will incur the displeasure of the neo-revisionists, who will try to prove in our critical stance on the Cominform a further "confirmation" of our alleged "betrayal" of Marxism-Leninism. However, we will not lower our ideological level for their sake, and certainly not to the lowest level of the neo-revisionists, where they compensate for their inability to deal with ideological content by insults, just as they have learned from the modern revisionists.**

**Let the neo-revisionists yap as loudly and as much as they want. We, on the other hand, maintain our Stalinist-Hoxhaist course in order to realise our revolutionary goals.**

**It is our duty to completely turn upside down the historiography of the Cominform falsified by the modern revisionists. In this way we continue the ideological disarmament of the neo-revisionists that we have started, we knock one ideological weapon after another out of their hands.**

**Neo-revisionism on the question of the Cominform consists in recognising its victory over Titoism in words, but at the same time concealing or justifying the betrayal of all other modern revisionists in the world socialist camp who - especially in the Cominform - hid behind the struggle against Titoism in order to rehabilitate it after Stalin's death.**

**Neo-revisionism is "anti-Titoism" in words and Titoism in deeds.**

**Neo-revisionism is the justification of the use of revisionist means in the anti-revisionist struggle.**

**Those who try to fight revisionism with revisionism are in fact fighting against Stalinism-Hoxhaism.**

**To hide one's own revisionism (for example, Dimitroff's) behind the revisionism of others (for example, Titoism) is neo-revisionism.**

**Neo-revisionism is "anti-revisionism" in words and revisionism in deeds.**

**If someone calls our struggle against neo-revisionism dogmatism and sectarianism, we shout to him the words of Enver Hoxha:**

**"Take off your revisionist glasses and you will see more clearly!"**

**Before dealing directly with the Cominform, let us deal with the world socialist camp in which the Cominform has operated.**

## **What is the world socialist camp?**

**The world communist movement had been weakened by the war in general and by the dissolution of the Comintern in particular, which changed abruptly with the victory in the Second World War. As at the end of the First World War, so at the end of the Second World War, the world communist movement continued to expand. The Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War stronger and became an even more powerful lever of the world communist movement in general and the world socialist revolution in particular, especially through the creation of the world socialist camp.**

**Enver Hoxha described the formation of the world socialist camp as "the greatest event since the October Revolution." (Enver Hoxha, in: "Eurocommunism", page 19)**

**Specifically, since the immediate post-war period, the world socialist camp has been understood in a narrower sense as the camp of countries liberated from fascism and led by the Soviet Union. Stalin's doctrine of the creation of the world socialist camp, the transition from the period of "socialism in one country" to the period of the formation of the union of several socialist states, and thus the enlargement of the world socialist camp, this is one of the pillars of Stalinism. The Leninist doctrine of "socialism in one country" is originally based on the refutation of the Trotskyist "theory of the impossibility of socialism in one country".**

**As for the further historical development of Trotskyism in this respect, Trotskyism considered "socialism in one country" to be "impossible". But when it was built in spite of the Trotskyists, that is when the Trotskyists created their "opposition" in order to steer the road of socialism into the paths of the restoration of capitalism. When Stalin hit the Trotskyists on the head and when the common construction of socialism in several countries finally became possible through the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the Trotskyists used their splitting methods to isolate, weaken and liquidate Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, to split the socialist camp and to hand it over to the imperialist world camp, for example with the splitting mushroom called Tito. Today, it is possible to build world socialism directly after the fall of world imperialism, which is why the Trotskyists also deny this possibility, just as they once denied socialism in "one" country. The Trotskyists followed this liquidationist line in the period before the first socialist state, then in socialism in "one" country, and finally Trotskyism continued its root-and-branch work in the socialist camp. And today? Today, the Trotskyists continue their liquidationist line in the struggle against the Comintern (SH) for world socialist revolution, for world socialism and world communism.**

**Stalin's doctrine of the creation of the world socialist camp, the revolutionary transition from "socialism in one country" to "socialism of several countries" , this is one of the pillars of Stalinism.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the modern revisionists misused the Leninist slogan of "socialism in one country" as a cover and camouflage for their bourgeois-nationalist road to "socialism". In the post-war period, the old Leninist slogan of "socialism in one country" was already outdated by the formation of the socialist camp, because the Soviet Union was no longer alone. With "socialism in some countries", Stalin had set a direct course for "socialism in all countries of the world" ! And it was precisely this that the modern revisionists in the people's democracies prevented with their conception of the bourgeois "national road to socialism" (above all Tito) . At the same time, the Soviet revisionists set course for the subjugation of the people's democracies and eventually transformed them into their vassal states.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism distinguishes socialism in "one" country from socialism in one country - that is, first with inverted commas and second without inverted commas, where a socialist country with inverted commas is surrounded by capitalist countries, while a socialist country without inverted commas is surrounded by socialist countries. The socialist world camp in the post-war period thus consisted, unlike in the past, of borders with capitalist countries as well as borders with socialist countries.**

**When the Soviet Union was still the only socialist country in the world, Lenin and Stalin still defined the world socialist camp as the bulwark of the world communist movement against capitalism led by the Soviet Union, as the camp of all forces united by the world proletariat, through which the epoch of world capitalism would be ended and replaced by the epoch of world socialism.**

**Under the conditions of globalisation, the concept of the world socialist camp has also changed. The Comintern (SH) uses the new term of the world socialist camp for this.**

These new world socialist states, which are the result of the victory of the world proletariat over world imperialism, are qualitatively different from the former socialist states of the first period of socialism. They are no longer those socialist states which, as in the past, are threatened by the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism. They are therefore no longer those socialist nation states which have to co-exist in life and death with capitalist states. World socialist states are no longer surrounded by hostile capitalist states, but are developing in truly mutual peaceful co-existence in the spirit of socialist internationalism. These world socialist states will merge into a federation of Soviet republics which will ultimately merge into a single world socialist state. The world socialist state that has emerged from the fusion process of the federation of Soviet republics will then be followed by the process of the dissolution of the world socialist state, whereby the last existing state on this earth will have disappeared into world communism.

In my article on the 50th anniversary of the counterrevolution in Hungary (1956), I wrote about the two main revisionist tendencies in the world socialist camp:

*"We must bring to light that at that time the revisionists not only of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, but all without exception, were united to smash socialism, Marxism-Leninism, workers' power. All internal and external revisionists were involved in the counterrevolution in Hungary, even if they represented their own particular interests (not to be left unmentioned: the revisionist influence through Togliatti's interview). In particular, the counterrevolution was pre-arranged between the Titoists, behind whom stood world capital, and the Khrushchev revisionists, the representatives of Russian social imperialism, and they also worked together during and after the counterrevolution, both secretly and openly. There were two main directions in the camp of modern revisionists. One direction, the stronger direction, was based on Soviet revisionism, which camouflaged itself with the "continuation" of the tradition of the glorious Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, in order to transform all allies into vassals of Russian social-imperialism and to appear as a strong imperialist bulwark with the aim of fighting against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism, against the revolutions in individual countries and against the world revolution. The other direction had the same aim, but in rivalry with Soviet revisionism. Tito in particular, but also Togliatti and other revisionist leaders like Mao later, tried to implement their revisionism in their own independent way, in demarcation from the Soviet revisionist clique. Both main revisionist tendencies served world capitalism to weaken, split, liquidate the chain links of socialism, to bury communism. All revisionists agreed to appear in the name of "socialism" and "Marxism" in order to blame the true Marxist-Leninists for their revisionist betrayal of communism. All modern revisionists threw mud at our leaders, Comrade Stalin and Enver Hoxha, and made them out to be "criminals". Our Marxist-Leninist leaders were to be the scapegoats for all the counter-revolutionary acts of the modern revisionists."*



**After the big bourgeoisie in the People's Democratic countries took flight abroad, the revisionist new bourgeoisie emerged there.**

**If the big bourgeoisie, which had fled Russia after the revolution, had still been able to call the foreign interventionists to its aid, it was Stalin's Soviet Union, with its Red Army, which protected the People's Democratic States from military raids by the foreign imperialists. It was Stalin's Soviet Union that guaranteed the inviolability of the people's democracies and not so much the working class at home, as was the case in Albania. The people's democracies owed their existence solely to the Red Army and had themselves neither emerged from the socialist revolution nor been steeled in a subsequent civil war. The working class in the People's Democracies did not establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the model of the October Revolution, but was led by a party united of revisionists and social democrats, thus making it impossible for it to build socialism under the rule of the working class. The working class did not have a steeled Bolshevik party of a new type as in the Soviet Union. This was the decisive weakness of the people's democracies and made it easier for the modern revisionists to hold and expand their power.**

**Instead of building socialism, the revisionists in the People's Democracies were primarily interested in the economic aid of the Molotov Plan in order to enrich themselves in order to use it to build capitalism in their own country. They were interested in the world socialist camp only to the extent that they could squeeze advantages out of it for themselves. Yes, squeeze it out. The revisionist leaders of the people's democracies exploited the contradictions and conflicts between the USA and the Soviet Union by all means, pumping money into these countries in order to integrate them into their sphere of power on the one hand, or, on the other hand, to satisfy them so that they would remain in the sphere of power of the Soviet social-imperialists as the "wasallen states". The oaths to Stalin fell silent after his death. But the revisionist leaders of the People's Democracies never really had to suffer, because what they had snatched away in profits through enslavement by the Soviet revisionists, they squeezed out of their own people through double exploitation. Thus, the revisionist People's Democracies - first Yugoslavia and then all the others following - began to obtain credits from the world capitalist camp, first turning away from Stalin for a few dollars and then gradually from the Soviet revisionists, whose power was approaching its collapse through their own restoration of capitalism. Stalin's internationalism differed from the nationalism of the revisionist People's Democracy in that he adhered to the Marxist-Leninist policy on the national question, which he had also implemented so successfully in the construction and cooperation of the Soviet republics. In 1947, Stalin had self-critically recognised and reversed the mistake of creating joint societies with the peoples' democratic brother countries for the exploitation of mineral resources. Stalin thought and acted selflessly in granting economic aid, while Khrushchev pursued the capitalist path of ruthless exploitation of the people's democracies, to the detriment of the world socialist camp. Thus, Stalin's CMEA was transformed by the Soviet revisionists into an instrument of control and exploitation of the member countries. Stalin had not - as he was wrongly accused of - , staked out spheres of influence with the imperialists after the capitulation of the Hitler fascists, but on the contrary, he had protected all countries of the world from the grip of the imperialists.**

**The world socialist camp that Stalin had created was the greatest victory of communism after the victory of the October Revolution. But history proved that the world socialist camp - except for Albania - moved further and further away from the path of socialism until the power of the modern revisionists was established and after Stalin's death the world socialist camp turned into a revisionist world camp and was finally dissolved by world imperialism. The decay of the Cominform was the result of the collaboration between the world imperialists and their revisionist lackeys through which Stalin's world socialist camp was liquidated. The only thing that reminded of the socialist world camp was the name "socialism", behind which in reality capitalism was hidden, which grew into social imperialism and social fascism and finally fell as a ripe fruit on the soil of the autocracy of world imperialism. This had a negative impact not only on the communist world movement but also on the revolutionary liberation movement in the oppressed countries and former colonies (so called "proxy wars" of the imperialists and social imperialists). 1949 Foundation of NATO and instigation of the Korean War by the American imperialists.**

**The Cominform was a creation of Comrade Stalin, an international organisation for building and strengthening the world socialist camp. The death of Stalin also meant the death of the Cominform, which was conquered by leaders of modern revisionism who finally liquidated it. These were the same revisionist forces that had previously liquidated the Comintern.**

**One cannot correctly reconstruct the Comintern without exposing both the Comintern's and the Cominform's mistakes, giving a self-critical account of the fact that we Stalinist-Hoxhaists are only now drawing a clear line under the betrayal of the revisionist Cominform members.**

**Mind you, we are talking here about the same overwhelming majority of revisionist Cominform representatives, some of whom were even identical in terms of personnel with the representatives of the revisionist parties in the Comintern. [Example CP of Italy: Togliatti (alias Ercoli)].**

**Just as we have criticised the dissolution of the Comintern, we hereby criticise the dissolution of the Cominform, which Stalin had created in the struggle against modern revisionism. To torpedo our urgently needed critical revision of the assessment of the Cominform, which has hitherto been common in the world communist movement, is precisely what constitutes the treachery of the neo-revisionists. It is not wrong to admit mistakes, but to insist on mistakes. This is where Stalinism-Hoxhaism differs from neo-revisionism today. For it is the neo-revisionists today who defend this betrayal of the revisionist Cominformists and call us Stalinist-Hoxhaists names because we allegedly wanted to drag the "reputation" of the Cominform into the mud. Only revisionists and their successors, the neo-revisionists, can drag the reputation of the Cominform into the mud, but not we Stalinist-Hoxhaists. From the very beginning, we have defended the revolutionary line of Stalin and Enver Hoxha against the neo-revisionists. However, it is the neo-revisionists who "defend" the Cominform in words, justifying and defending the hypocrisy of the revisionists against Stalin and the Soviet Union. In this way, they want to let the modern revisionists get away scot-free, so that they can inherit their legacy undisturbed, namely the legacy of the revisionist betrayal of the revolution and socialism. You cannot defeat neo-revisionism unless you uproot its roots, which had spread in the Comintern and then further in the Cominform.**

**The Comintern (SH) looks at the history of the Cominform from the point of view of the necessity of re-founding the Comintern on the principles of Marxism-Leninism - one cannot and must not adopt a different standpoint as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist as, for example, the neo-revisionists do. The Cominform can be regarded in the Marxist-Leninist sense as nothing else, as an aid, as a step on the way to the re-foundation of the Comintern - everything else is revisionism.**

**In order to judge the Cominform, it is therefore decisive that in founding the Cominform no consequences were drawn from the revisionist degeneration and dissolution of the Comintern, which in our view could only consist in rebuilding the Comintern on the foundations of Leninism-Stalinism.**

**The Marxist-Leninist principle of civil war is:**

**If war cannot be prevented, if it has already broken out, then it must be ended by socialist revolution, by means of revolutionary civil war.**

**This principle is also applicable on a world scale.**

**It was applied victoriously under the leadership of Lenin in World War 1. The October Revolution was victorious, the civil war in Russia that resulted from it was victorious, and it was possible not only to start building socialism in the first country of the world, but also to carry forward the world socialist revolution by supporting the civil war in Germany and other countries that were involved in the First World War. Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern served the world socialist revolution. The Marxist-Leninist principle of civil war retained its importance.**

**It was successfully applied in the Second World War under Stalin's leadership. The victory of the Red Army over Hitler's fascism gave the Soviet Union a position of world power which enabled Stalin to build the world socialist camp.**

**Instead of using the Second World War for the victory of the world socialist revolution and applying the Bolshevik principle of revolutionary world civil war and preparing the world proletariat ideologically, politically and militarily for the decisive battle against the world bourgeoisie, the 7th World Congress under the leadership of Dimitroff took the treacherous road of pacting with the bourgeoisie, stopped the struggle for world socialist revolution and stabbed Stalin's Soviet Union in the back by dissolving it in the middle of the Second World War. The liquidation of the Comintern had devastating consequences not only for the whole communist world movement, but also had a corrosive effect in the creation of the Stalinist world camp. This became evident already 4 years after the liquidation of the Comintern, i.e. at the foundation of the Cominform. The world communist movement had lost its leading world party and left the communist parties to their fate, which opened the door to bourgeois influences such as those of modern revisionism, nationalism, social democratism, etc. opened the door. Inspired by Dimitroff's Popular Front policy, some communist parties had already united with the social democrats, while other communist parties were preparing this unification. Stalin thus founded the Cominform at the time of this unification process, which was to help the modern revisionists seize power. Stalin was forced with the Cominform to counteract this striving for power of the modern revisionists, in order to thus avert the danger for the Soviet Union, for the Stalinist world camp, for the communist world movement and ultimately for the world socialist revolution. If the Comintern had not been liquidated, the foundation of the Cominform would not have been necessary. Its foundation was inevitable precisely because of the revisionist degeneration of the Comintern, was a consequence of the spread of modern revisionism.**

**Compared to the influence of modern revisionism on the Comintern, its influence within the Stalinist world camp took on a new quality because the parties in the so-called "people's democracies" came to power with the help of the Red Army and were equipped for the first time with corresponding state organs of power.**

**What was the situation in the world socialist camp during the time of the Cominform?**

**Two complementary tendencies hampered the building of the world socialist camp:**

**1. in the People's Democracies, great obstacles still had to be cleared away on the road to socialism . It was only the beginning.**

**2. In the Soviet Union, the influence of the Soviet revisionists became an increasing danger of the restoration of capitalism. One was already at the beginning of the end.**

**While capitalism in the People's Democracies had first of all to be eliminated, the Soviet revisionists were already beginning to restore capitalism.**

## **2**

### **The Cominform**

**- Timetable - organisational structure - participants - tasks - about the 3 conferences - dissolution of the Cominform**

**As early as 27 May 1946, at a meeting with the Yugoslav government delegation led by Tito, Stalin had presented a plan in the Kremlin for the creation of the Cominform.**

**From 22 to 27 September 1947, the founding conference of the Kominform took place in the Polish town of Szklarska Poreba. The Kominform was officially founded on 30 September 1947.**

**The second conference of Kominform was held in Bucharest - Romania in June 1948.**

**The third conference of the Kominform met in Budapest - Hungary in November 1949.**

**There were also 4 meetings of the Kominform Secretariat.**

**All minutes on decisions were allegedly (!) checked by the CC of the CPSU (B) and Stalin personally.**

## **The First Conference of the Cominform took place in Poland**

**from 22 to 27 September 1947**

**Chair: Gomulka**

**Wladyslaw Gomulka lost his post as General Secretary of the Polish Labour Party in the summer of 1948 (!). After a comprehensive 'self-criticism' he lost all offices, is expelled from the government and sits in prison from 1950 to September 1954. So at the head of the founding conference of the Cominform was a traitor !!!! But Gomulka was by no means an isolated case. From beginning to end, the Cominform was composed of modern revisionists who had feigned their devotion to Stalin and the Soviet Union in order to follow their path to the end after his death into the deepest social fascism.**

**Participants in the First Conference:**

**From Poland Gomulka and Minc (both revisionists).**

**Minc, Hilary (1905-1974), Polish economic theorist**

**[Report of the Soviet delegates to Stalin: "the Poles are cowards and do not want to associate"]**

**from Yugoslavia: Kardej and Djilas (Titoists) [the Soviet delegation passed the following message to Stalin: "the reports of Kardej and Djilas made a very good impression"]. (This message to Stalin, this adulation of the Titoists must be read on the tongue!!).**

**Kardelj, Edvard (1910-1979); CP member since 1928; trained at the party school in Moscow; 1941 organiser of the partisan war in Slovenia; member of the Supreme War Council; after 1945 in the CC and Politburo, close collaborator of Tito 1948-1954 Foreign Minister**



**from Romania Dej and Anna Pauker Dej was a collaborator with the West; Anna Pauker was expelled from the Romanian Party with Stalin's approval as a member of an anti-party group and imprisoned in 1953. She was a delegate to the 7th World Congress).**

**from Hungary: Farkas and József Révai (both revisionists) - [ Report to Stalin: "In general Revai's report was good"].**

**Revai, Jozsef (1888-1959), founding member of the CP in 1918; emigrated to the CSR after the fall of the soviet republic; member of the exiled CC; returned to Hungary in 1930 and arrested; from 1933/34 in the USSR worked for the ECCI apparatus; 1937-1939 illegal party work in Prague; from 1940 in the propaganda department of KOMINTERN; returned to Hungary in 1944; 1945-1948 CC secretary in Budapest; 1945-1953 Minister of National Education; later ousted from the PB .**

**from France Duclos, Fajon, Georges Cogniot ( all three revisionists; Duclos= delegate to the 7th World Congress)**

**from Italy Longo and Reale, Longo became General Secretary of the revisionist Italian CP, Reale was also a revisionist) [communication to Stalin: "Longo's report made a painful impression on the majority of the participants"].**

**Reale, Eugenio (1905-1986) - resigned from the CP in 1956.**

**from Bulgaria Chervenkov and Kostoff - (Both revisionists).**

**Kostov, Traicho, D. (1897-1949); member of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1924; arrested, released in 1929; worked in Moscow in the Balkan Secretariat; organised the partisan war against the Germans during the war; arrested in April 1942; freed from prison in 1944; General Secretary of the partisan movement from 1933; Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1949); arrested and executed on 14 December 1949.**

**and from Czechoslovakia Slansky and Bashtevan. (Both revisionists)**

**The deliberators agreed at their first conference:**

- 1. to establish an information bureau composed of representatives of the Communist Party of the aforementioned countries.**
- 2. to entrust the Information Bureau with the task of organising an exchange of experience and, if necessary, coordinating the activities of the communist parties on the basis of mutual agreement.**
- 3. to include in the Information Bureau two representatives of each of the respective Central Committees, to be appointed and exchanged by them.**
- 4. the Information Bureau shall publish a printed bi-monthly, later a weekly. This will be published in French and Russian and, if possible, in other languages.**
- 5.**
- 5. the Information Bureau is to have its headquarters in Belgrade.**

## **Why did Stalin change the headquarters of the Comintern ?**

**Moscow was and remained the centre of the world socialist camp during the Comintern period. Nevertheless, Stalin decided not to install the headquarters of the Cominform in Moscow, but to move it towards the West, in order to send several signals:**

- 1. towards the American imperialists, whose strategy was to turn the whole of Europe into an anti-communist bulwark against the Soviet Union.**
- 2. towards the new people's democracies, whose independence and autonomy were to be underlined by this.**
- 3. at each Kominform conference the headquarters were moved to a new country. In 1947, the Kominform was constituted in Poland, and in the following year the seat was moved to Bucharest, because the planned transfer to Belgrade was not necessary due to the absence of Belgrade from the second Kominform Conference. The third conference was held in Budapest in 1949.**

**Why was Belgrade originally planned as the seat of the Cominform? In this way, Stalin wanted to better influence that country which had already moved furthest away from the position of the Soviet Union in every respect and in all fields and had moved ever closer to the West. Stalin tried to give Tito a shorter leash in his own country. The seat in Belgrade would be best suited to let the deviating line in the Western countries collide with the deviating line of Yugoslavia, in order then to bring first the Western parties, then Yugoslavia and finally all the other countries of the People's Democracy back on the correct course of Stalinism. In a real sense, the Cominform was Stalin's instrument to free the communist parties both outside and inside the world socialist camp from the influence of modern revisionism and to purge out the deviants. The Cominform was the first international instrument of the anti-revisionist purge outside the Soviet Union. The idea of giving the Cominform more of a control function from Moscow arose from the negative experiences with the Comintern in this regard. The Comintern leaders had already withdrawn too much from Stalin's influence. The purification of the Comintern had proved even more difficult than the purification of the Cominform. The right opportunists in the ECCI had long since put the Comintern to sleep and allowed it to die slowly, so that in the end Stalin decided to agree to its dissolution. At the second conference of the Cominform, which the Titoists had stayed away from and were promptly expelled from, it was decided to move the headquarters to Bucharest, from where the heads of the traitors in Romania and Bulgaria then rolled. At the 3rd Kominform Conference, it was decided to move the headquarters to Budapest, where the heads of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak revisionists rolled.**

**The Titoists, who had still participated in the 1st Kominform conference, refused to take part in the 2nd conference, where they were then also expelled from the Kominform.**

**At the Cominform conferences the modern revisionists submissively demonstrated their hypocrisy towards the Soviet Union, the CPSU (B) and above all towards Stalin !**

**And in deeds, the modern revisionists in turn fought against the Stalinists. For example, the Polish Kominform delegate, Jakub Berman, was expelled from the party because of his "Stalin terror", the Stalinists Gottwald from Czechoslovakia and Bierut from Poland were murdered by the Soviet revisionists. All these crimes against Stalinists took place while the Cominform was still in power or immediately afterwards.**

**Apart from Rakosi and Jakub Berman, these were mostly representatives of modern revisionism who took part in the Kominform conferences.**

**What to think of Malenkov, Suslov, Judin and other traitors we learned from Enver Hoxha (Enver Hoxha: "The Khrushchevites")!**

**The participants acted on their own in their country and moved more and more in the direction of modern revisionism. For the most part, they were already deep in the mire of modern revisionism.**

**The Cominform representative of Czechoslovakia was the traitor Slansky, who was an agent of Tito, a Trotskyist and a Zionist and was sentenced to death in 1952 !**

**Clementis, Vladimir (1902-1951); member of the Communist Party since 1924; from 1953 CP deputy; 1939 exile in London; 1948 Czech Foreign Minister; 1949 CC member; arrested in 1951, sentenced to death in the Slansky trial; executed on December 1952.**

**As for Togliatti, it is an outright provocation for us Stalinist-Hoxhaists that he dared to appear as a Cominform representative after being one of the leading masterminds of the liquidation of the Comintern! - He should not have participated at all. Just as far too few revisionist traitors had been tried, Togliatti too should have been sentenced to death for his betrayal not only during and after the Cominform , but before that for his betrayal of the Comintern alone.**

**The Cominform was not filled with the revolutionary spirit of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. The delegates were mainly revisionist hucksters.**

**Look at the figures who did their revisionist politics there in the Cominform: Suslov, Duclos, Togliatti and the revisionist leaders in Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. A lot of spies and agents, whose activity can be traced back to the time of the Gestapo, were delegates of the Cominform, some of whom in turn were executed after having carried out their agent activities for 2 years since the existence of the Cominform, without the Cominform supposedly noticing anything about it. The agents who were sent into the Cominform were mostly executed, but those who kept them hidden and who bear the real responsibility for this, such as Tito and Dimitroff - all of them were never held accountable, nor convicted.**

**None of the invited parties stood on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism. All were far from the positions of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern.**

**All the spies and agents who had been condemned after Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform were, incidentally, rehabilitated at the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU.**

**Slánský (Czechoslovakia) Prague Trials, December 1952. And what else was in Malenkov's report to Stalin ? It expressly praised Slansky's report on the CP of Czechoslovakia at the founding conference of the Cominform! Slansky, by the way, was also a delegate to the 7th World Congress).**

**László Rajk (Hungary) executed on 15 October 1949.**

**Kostoff, (Bulgaria) sentenced to death in November 1949 (as a delegate of the Cominform just 1 month after the 3rd Conference of the Cominform !!).**

**Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (Romania) - was executed as an agent of the imperialists.**

**The Kochi Xoxe trial in Albania (this traitor was hanged in May 1949) should not go unmentioned.**

**The trials were not about the personal misconduct of the accused, but about the condemnation of their counterrevolutionary activity for the Titoists and their imperialist backers. How overdue the purification of anti-party elements were within the world socialist camp can be seen even in the Cominform. A number of the delegates to the Cominform were executed or imprisoned. As long as Stalin could influence these trials of the traitors, the Cominform officially followed Stalin's course. Conversely, when the traitors gained influence over the trials, after the modern revisionists had conquered more and more positions of power, the Stalinists were deprived of power, put in prison or murdered. These purges, which began with the founding of the Cominform, can be seen as an approximation of the transformation of the Stalinist Cominform into an anti-Stalinist Cominform. The early period of the Cominform was a time of the climax of the sharpest class struggle between the Stalinists and the modern revisionists. With the dissolution of the Cominform, the struggle between the Stalinists and modern revisionists did not end. The waves of trials continued until about the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU. After that, at the latest, all the traitors punished by the Stalinists were rehabilitated one by one. This also shows who belonged to the Stalinists and who to the anti-Stalinists at the time of the Cominform.**

**How "peaceful" and "democratic" the camp of the modern revisionists was in reality, they proved not only with their class reconciliation and cessation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, but also with their social-fascist terror against the Stalinists in the socialist camp, within the communist parties, within the communist world movement. Of course, these anti-communist crimes against the Stalinists do not appear in the bourgeois revisionist historiography. Here it is above all the Comintern (SH), which does not only pillory all modern revisionists without exception with the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, but also their crimes during the Comintern period (and not only the crimes of the Yugoslav revisionists!).**

**Shdanov's assassination on 31 August 1948 does not coincide with Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform. In January of the same year, the Yugoslav delegation was warmly received by Shdanov in Leningrad, which was not exactly registered with goodwill in Moscow (Malenkov-Beriya faction). Incidentally, Shdanov was responsible in the Politburo for relations with foreign communist parties.**

**Malenkov (anti-Stalinist Moscow Malenkov/Beriya faction in competition with Shdanov's Leningrad faction / Leningrad "affair"), Suslov (Brezhnevian)**

**On 18 November 1947 there was a meeting between Stalin and Thorez**

**(present: Molotov and Suslov).**

**Suslov was present at this meeting. But this did not prevent him, at the third conference of the Cominform, from taking the opposite revisionist view and including in his resolution the anti-Stalinist thesis of "right-wing socialism", a thesis which Stalin had sharply criticised in the conversation with Thorez: "The social-democratic leaders of the left wing are the agents of the right wing." (Stalin)**

**This struggle against conciliationism towards the "left" wing of social democracy had been waged by Stalin in the Comintern many years before. This then developed into the fusion of the communist and social democratic parties, which comrade Enver Hoxha subjected to sharp criticism. Under the guise of the "workers' united front", the ideology of modern revisionism received its organisational expression through this fusion with social democracy - a revisionist party. The revisionist ideology of so-called "right-wing socialism" did not only dominate after Stalin's death, but already had a determining influence in the Cominform during his lifetime.**

## **The SECOND CONFERENCE OF COMINFORM**

**took place from 19 to 23 June 1948.**

**Participants: B. Chervenkoff, Traicho Kostoff (Bulgaria - both revisionists)**

**G. Bares, B. Geminder, V. Siroky, R. Slansky (Czechoslovakia) (all revisionists; Siroky was a delegate to the 7th World Congress)**

**Geminder, Bedrich (1901-1952); member of the CP since 1921; worked in the KOMINTERN apparatus in Moscow; after 1945 head of various sections of the Party Secretariat; arrested in 1951; sentenced to death and executed**

**M. Farkas, E. Gero, Matyas Rakosi (Hungary) (all revisionists except Rakosi)**

**Farkas, Mihaly (1904-1985); from 1921 member of the Czech Communist Party; 1929-1937 leader of the Youth International; participant in the Spanish Civil War (1935-1943); there active under the code name 'Michael Wolf'; candidate for the ECCI presidium; 1944 return to Hungary; 1945-1953 member of the Politburo; 1948-1953 Minister of Defence; under Rakosi head of the Security Service (AVO); 1956 expulsion from the party and conviction**

**Gerö, Erno (1891-1980); member of the Communist Party since 1918; fled to Vienna in 1919; returned to Hungary in 1922; arrested there and sentenced to 15 years in prison; deported to the USSR after 2 years; from 1924 COMINTERN adviser in France and Belgium, then NKDW representative in the Spanish Civil War; During World War II, leading member of the exiled party in Moscow; after 1945, member of the Central Committee; in the Politburo responsible for economic and security issues; in October 1956, fled to the USSR, expelled from the party in 1962 because of his role in the show trials; later worked as a translator.**

**J. Berman, A. Zawadski (Poland) (revisionist Zawadski replaced Bierut after Bierut's assassination - Zawadzki, Aleksander (1899-1964); Chairman of the Central Council of Polish Trade Unions, became Chairman of the Council of State on 20 November 1952. )**



**[ J. Berman (1901-1984); member of the CP since 1924; in the CC from 1925; COMINTERN duties in the SU; leading member in the Polish government-in-exile; in 1944 in Poland; in the PB responsible, among other things, for state security, ideology and culture; in 1956 expelled from the CC because of his role in the trials in Hungary; expelled from the Party in 1957. Until 1969 editor in a book publishing house]**

**G. Georgiu Dej, V. Luca, Anna Pauker (all Romanian revisionists) - (V. Luca was a revisionist and was rehabilitated in 1968 [5 years after his death in prison])**

**Etienne Fajon, Jaques Duclos (France) (both revisionists)**

**Fajon, Etienne (1906-1991); from 1927 member of the CPF; 1932-1945 candidate for the CPF Central Committee; 1936-1939 deputy; from 1935 responsible for the CPF cadre schools; 1940-1943 imprisoned; 1945-1978 member of the Politburo; 1948-1950 editor-in-chief of 'Humanite', from 1958 its political director**

**P. Secchia, Palmiro Togliatti ( Italy) (both revisionists)**

**Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), A. Zhdanov, G. Malenkov, M. Suslov - all represented revisionist positions in the Cominform;**

**The Information Bureau discussed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and unanimously adopted a resolution on the question of**

**According to the minutes, the agenda of the 2nd Conference was unanimously adopted as follows:**

**1. on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.**

**2. current issues:**

**a) the seat of the Information Office;**

**b) on the seat of the newspaper of the Information Bureau**

**c) the composition of the editorial board of the newspaper**

**d) the Belgian Trade Union Convention and the Balkan Youth Council.**

**(Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RRS);**

**e) applications by some communist parties to join the Information Bureau**

**e) the statutes of the Information Bureau**

**g) on the apparatus of the Information Bureau.**

**The Third Conference took place in 1949,  
from 16 to 19 November 1949 in Budapest - Hungary.**

**Chair: M. Rakosi (Hungary)**

**Togliatti P. (leader) [modern revisionist].**

**D'Onofrio E.4 (Deputy Leader of the Delegation) [1949 Secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party - modern revisionist]**

**Chikalinini A.5 [?]**

**Longo L. [modern revisionist: Longo, Luigi (1900-1980); co-founder of the CPI (1921); delegate to the IV World Congress; 1927-1932 exile in France; 1932-1935 in Moscow; 1936-1939 Inspector General of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War; 1939 interned in France; 1941 extradition to the Gestapo; 5 years of exile; after release 1943-1945 commander of all communist partisan groups in northern Italy; 1964-1972 General Secretary of the CPI ]**

**Delegation of the Hungarian Party of Labour**

**Rakosi M. (head of delegation ) [weak Stalinist, for example, he was instrumental in the revisionist merger of the CP with the Social Democratic Party and did not fight consistently against the revisionists, especially Tito]**

**Gare E. (deputy leader) [?]**

**Revai I. [modern revisionist]**

**Kadar I.6 [modern revisionist]**

**The delegation of the French communist**

**Duclos J. (leader) [modern revisionist, 7th World Congress]**

**Fajon E. [modern revisionist]**

### **Delegation of the All-Union Communist Party (the Bolsheviks)**

**Suslov MA (leader) [modern revisionist]**

**Judin P. F. [modern revisionist]**

### **Delegation of the Romanians**

**GeorgieG. Dej G. (leader) [modern revisionist]**

**Kishinevsky I. (deputy head ) [modern revisionist]**

**Mogiorosh A. [modern revisionist]**

### **The Delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party**

**Berman J. (leader) [Stalinist?]**

**Zavadsky A. [revisionist successor of President Bierut - died in 1964 = renegade!]**

### **The Delegation Party of the CP of Czechoslovakia**

**Slansky R. (leader) [sentenced to death as a traitor in 1952]**

**Bashtovansky Sh. [modern revisionist]**

**Kopřiva L. [modern revisionist]**

**Geminder B. [executed together with Slansky]**

## **The communist delegation of the CP of Bulgaria**

**V. Chervenkoff (leader) [= anti-Stalinist: related by marriage to Dimitroff and became his successor ]**

**V. POPTOMOV [modern revisionist: Poptomov, Vladimir (1890-1952); member of the Bulgarian Communist Party; from 1935-1943 adviser at the ECCI Balkan Secretariat in Moscow; 1943-1944 editor at the Publishing House for Foreign Language Literature in Moscow; member of the Politburo 1949-1950 and in 1952 Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian CP ]**

**Kostoff was still present at the 1st and 2nd meetings of the Cominform and was sentenced to death in December 1949. He was Dimitroff's scapegoat for the anti-Soviet Balkan Federation.**

**Participating as guests were:**

**Georgi Kumbiliev [modern revisionist - Foreign Trade Minister of Bulgaria].**

---

**\*) Note, we were not able to identify all names with the Russian Google translation. We lacked money to buy the English edition.**

## **Agenda**

**1. protect the world and fight the warlords.**

**Speech by Suslov. (Soviet Union)**

**2. the unity of the working class and the tasks of the communist parties.**

**Speech by Togliatti. (Italy)**

**3. struggle against the Tito clique.**

**Speech by Georgi Dej (Romania)**

**and concluding communiqué by representatives of the communist parties on this subject .**

**4. on the draft statute of the Information Bureau.**

**Duclos. (France)**

### **In the End of the COMINFORM**

**Already with the death of Stalin, the Cominform can be considered extinct.**

**Between summer and December 1950, Togliatti refused to take over the chairmanship of the Cominform and thus openly opposed the socialist camp and its Cominform. Basically, Togliatti was expressing here his negative attitude towards Stalin and the Soviet Union. Although Khrushchev had only officially dissolved the Cominform on 17 April 1956, from 1951 onwards Togliatti had already in fact contributed to the existence of the Cominform, as had Beria and other traitors to Stalin. The dissolution of KOMINFORM, like the dissolution of KOMINTERN, was carried out without discussion and without any consultations. The Cominform organ concluded by saying:**

**"The Information Bureau and its press organ, the journal 'For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy' have played a positive role for the development and strengthening of fraternal relations as well as for the exchange of experience between the communist and workers' parties, shedding light on the questions of Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with the concrete conditions of the various countries as well as the experience of the international and communist workers' movement."**

**In the end, Kominform existed only through the editorial board of the Kominform organ. In the truest sense of the word, the Kominform was only "on paper" at the end:**

## About the organ of the Cominform

*"For lasting peace, for people's democracy".*

**This central slogan alone is not suitable for putting into practice the general line of the Kominform, namely, to free the world socialist camp from the increasing influence of modern revisionism and to make Marxism-Leninism the ruling ideology of the world socialist camp. This slogan is more reminiscent of pacifism and reformism and has nothing to do with the necessary orientation towards revolution and socialism. Comrade Enver Hoxha never mouthed this revisionist slogan.**

**When the Cominform was founded, Marxism-Leninism was not the ruling ideology in these countries. And it has never become the ruling ideology there until today. With the liberation of the People's Democracies from Hitler's fascism by the Red Army, the proletariat is thus not automatically liberated from the still ruling capitalist ideology of exploitation and oppression. Only favourable conditions have been created from outside for this. This is a task that cannot be solved from outside - for example, by the Red Army - but only by the revolutionary working class itself, in particular by its Marxist-Leninist party in its own country. The organisational unification of the proletarian and bourgeois parties would have been impossible without the unification of proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. The dominant ideology in the people's democracy was thus a mixture of proletarian and bourgeois ideology, with the political power of the old big bourgeoisie already disintegrated by the war. The bourgeoisie fled, but not the bourgeois ideology. They left it behind in the country they had to abandon. And it was on this bourgeois ideology that modern revisionism was able to save bourgeois class society, that the modern revisionists were able to cultivate their "national road to socialism" under the guise of socialist internationalism and friendship with Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union.**

**Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union was at that time in the historical phase of the post-war period, in which it had the task of building the world socialist camp under its leadership, and this under the massive anti-communist pressure of the imperialist world camp. The imperialist encirclement, which the Soviet Union had successfully broken for the first time with the Second World War, turned into an encirclement of the socialist world camp. It was to turn out historically that Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union had successfully mastered its struggle against the imperialist encirclement, which could not be said of the people's democracies later. After the modern revisionists seized power, a new form of imperialist encirclement emerged - namely, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement of Albania, the only socialist country after Stalin's death. The same people's democracies that had prevented Albania's membership in the Cominform were fighting not Titoism but Hoxhaism - that is, the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. The socialist world camp, which had turned into a revisionist world camp, united with the imperialist world camp against the socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha.**

**Just as the Bolshevik Party must first be ideologically built, the same was true for the building of the Soviet Union and even more so for the world socialist camp. A world socialist camp which is not led by Bolshevik parties and which is not guided by Marxism-Leninism is doomed to failure. A socialist world camp must be built on correct ideological foundations. This was generally not the case. The conditions for this had to be created first. And this included the Cominform as an ideological instrument.**

**Lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by people's democracy, but only by socialism on a world scale. Lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union alone either. That is only possible through world socialism. It is only possible through the world socialist camp and not through the world democratic camp.**

**Pavel Yudin, chief editor of the organ of the Cominform, was once a "red professor" who had been awarded the Stalin Prize and became a Brezhnev revisionist. He was a member of the CC of the CPSU between 1952 and 1961.**

**The organ of the Cominform appeared once a week, usually every Friday, in 19 languages of the world. It reported on events from the entire communist world movement, published documents of the communist parties, i.e. not only those from the socialist (later revisionist) world camp. The organ served not only the ideological orientation, but also the solution of the international question of strategy and tactics.**



**Following the name "Information Bureau", the "IB" ("Information Bulletin") appeared in August 1958 as the successor organ, which was published by the publishing house: "Peace and Socialism" (Prague) ("Problems of Peace and Socialism.") . The German edition was published by the revisionist STERN-Verlag - Vienna. We have this revisionist archive with the issues between the mid-60s to the mid-80s.**

**Now to our critical remarks about the organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties: "For lasting peace, for people's democracy" :**

**We have selected a few examples from the issues between 1947 and 1956. The full texts can be read in English for study purposes. We would like to point out that the articles are mainly revisionist, with the exception of a very small number of Marxist-Leninist articles, among which the Albanian articles are particularly noteworthy. The majority of the authors are revisionists.**

**On 1 July 1948, the modern revisionist Vahan Grigorian (Beriya's confidant and later Suslov's successor under Brezhnev) was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of the Kominform organ.**

**The organ of the Kominform is bulging with revisionist articles written by modern revisionists:**

**from a long list we pick out only 4 examples of authors whose articles were published in the organ of Kominform:**

**Roman Zambrowski (Polish revisionist who came to power with Gomulka after the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU in the party united with the Social Democrats).**

**Mao Zedong (Chinese revisionism)**

**G. Dimitroff (Bulgarian revisionist, liquidator of the Comintern, traitor to Stalinism)**

**Max Reimann - revisionist party leader of the West-KPD; delegate to the 7th World Congress)**

**Walter Ulbricht - the worst of all German revisionists)**

**Dolores Ibarruri (Spanish revisionist)**

**OTTO GROTHEWOHL, JOSEF CYRANKIEWICZ, HARRY POLLIT and all the other leaders of the Communist Party of that time, who united with the bourgeois, social-democratic parties to form revisionist parties, all had their say in the organ published by the Cominform. The Kominform made itself the international ideological, political and organisational instrument to bring the modern revisionists to power. And after the modern revisionists had seized power, they no longer needed the Kominform and dissolved it.**

**In the beginning, Stalin quotations were still used diligently, but only to decorate their revisionism with them. Later, the Cominform took off this Stalin mask.**

**Here follow comments on selected issues, of which the few usable ones are marked as such.**

**No. 1, Monday, 10 November 1947**

**[Founding documents of the Cominform](#) (including the documents of the Titoists).**

**No. 12 (15), Tuesday, 15 June 1948**

**This issue contains an article on criticism and self-criticism. In it, it is praised that the CP of France and Italy had practised "self-criticism" in the Cominform. This was held up as an example worthy of imitation. There had also been "self-criticism" a year earlier by Thorez in his conversation with Stalin. But all this "self-criticism" was a big bluff, because these two parties - like all other parties - went the way of modern revisionism and thus the way of betrayal of Stalin. One can only really speak of self-criticism when words are followed by deeds. These revisionist parties were neither willing nor able to do this. Criticism must be levelled above all at the Cominform, which praised this kind of "self-criticism" and did not expose it.**

**In the same issue, the fusion of the CP with the Social Democratic Party is propagated by the Soviet-revisionist editor of the Kominform organ) who also sells this fusion as an expression of the "unity of the working class" under the provocative title: "Be vigilant against the organisational princes of the Marxist Party". The sheer mockery!**

**This unification slogan of the Cominform was not propagated in Russia or Albania, nor in the Comintern, at least not before the Comintern fell into the lap of Dimitroff. But Rakosi too has praised the unification between the CP and SP in this issue of the Kominform organ.**

**No. 13 (16), Thursday, 1 July 1948**

**Resolution on the situation of the CP of Yugoslavia (the most important document of the Kominform!)**

**This is also the first issue to be published in Bucharest instead of Belgrade, as was the case at the beginning, with the editorial office being moved to Romania.**

**No. 16 (43), 15 August 1949**

**THE MASK IS OFF - Pravda article of 13 August 1949 - useful article**

**But this issue also published, among other things, an article by the Albanian revisionist Bedri Spahiu.**

**No. 18 (45), Friday, 16 September 1949.**

**"GANG OF FASCIST CONSPIRATORS, SPIES AND PROVOCATEUR" - usable article.**

**No. 4 (64), FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1950.**

**The Cominform on the Colonial and Dependent Countries.**

**Without socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, there can be no complete liberation in the rear of imperialism. This is what the October Revolution has taught. This central factor of the world revolutionary smashing of colonialism in the alliance of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples, is not mentioned with a syllable in this article. Quotations from Stalin are used, but in the final analysis, the essence of this article is to prepare the way for modern revisionism on the colonial question.**

**No. 27 (87) July 1950**

**"New Step by the Tito Clique to Restore Capitalism in Yugoslavia" - Yugoslavia was never a socialist country, so logically capitalism cannot be "restored" in Yugoslavia, precisely because it existed all along. What is correct about the article, however, is that Yugoslavia's economy was increasingly dominated by the US imperialists. Only in this respect is the article useful.**

**No. 32 (92), 11 August 1950**

**"Popular Front and Popular Democracy"**

**American revisionist William Z. Foster, who applauded Dimitroff's Popular Front policy in America without wanting to follow it. In his opinion, a Popular Front government is pure speculation as long as the USA has not yet been afflicted by fascism.**

**"We do not recognise the inevitability of fascism, any more than we recognise the inevitability of a third world war."**

**Apparently, according to the American communists, there is a very special "progressive" imperialism in the US - one without war and fascism (see the same tall tales of Browderism). Trump will be grateful for this compliment. Foster keeps beating around the bush, saying that a popular front is probably not yet on the agenda in America, but that is why it should not be lost sight of in perspective. All opportunist gibberish, because in an imperialist country like the USA, nothing else can be on the agenda but socialist revolution. It is precisely this simple thing, which every American worker understands, that the nine-times-wise William Foster has failed to grasp all his life. For this he seeks all the more advice from the Soviet revisionist Suslov and quotes his articles from the organ of the Cominform extensively. Foster does not doubt the role of revolutionary violence in words, but he considers it "out of date" under present conditions (as at the time of the Cominform). This is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, because Leninism is the Marxist doctrine in the epoch (also) of (American) imperialism, an epoch of proletarian revolution (also in the USA), the dictatorship of the proletariat applies (also to the USA).**

**As for the people's democracies, they seem to be somehow peacefully transforming themselves into the dictatorship of the proletariat. But these are all just hypotheses with Foster. It's all "not so easily" applicable in America, where everything is much more "complicated".**

**29 September 1950**

**Article on the 1st anniversary of the PRC**

**Mao Tse-tung said, "When we have created a flourishing national economy and culture, when all conditions are ripe, and when this is approved by the whole country, we will enter the new era of socialism in our steady advance. "**

**Meanwhile, China is a social imperialist superpower and further away from socialism than ever before ....**

**No. 11 (175), 14 March 1952**

**"Canada's road to socialism" - "for democratic progress and peace".**

**Instead of proletarian democracy, popular front government with bourgeois parties. No socialism on the road to proletarian revolution. About a majority in parliament for "socialism".**

**No. 15 (179), 11 April 1952**

**In this number appears a longer article by comrade Enver Hoxha:**

**"The Party of Labour of Albania in the Struggle for the Creation of the Foundations of Socialism" - Enver Hoxha - General Secretary of the CC of the PAA.**

**- This contribution is one of the few Marxist-Leninist contributions in the organ of the Cominform which are not mixed with revisionist ideas. It emphasises the struggle of the Albanians against the fascist Tito gang.**

**No. 18 (182), 12 May 1952.**

**"The British road to socialism" [!]**

**"The victory of the liberation struggle of colonial and dependent peoples is inseparable from the victory of the aims of democracy, national independence and peace throughout the world."**

**(Linked to anything but communism).**

**Written by Palme Dutt, who traded his loyalty to Stalin for his loyalty to the Soviet revisionists (from whom he was paid his pension with an annual income of £15,000 until his death). Palme Dutt defended the faction of Soviet revisionists against the faction of Eurocommunists in the revisionist CP of Britain.**

**No. 27 (191), 4 July 1952**

**An article on the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of Japan states:**

**"The ideas of Mao Tse-tung must be our ideas too.**

**Long live independence, freedom and peace for Japan!**

**Long live national liberation, long live democratic revolution!"**

**No. 19, 8 May 1953**

**"Sweden's Road to Socialism" - In the party programme adopted at the 16th Party Congress of the CP of Sweden, there is nothing to be found of the road of socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the usual slogans of the modern revisionists of "peace, democracy and people's power."**

**No 51, December 23, 1955**

**The article: "The all-conquering doctrine of MARX-ENGELS-LENIN-STALIN" - published on the birthday (!) of Stalin is reduced by the modern revisionists to:**

**"The great ideas of Marxist-Leninism, which illuminate the road to peace, freedom and progress for all mankind, live on."**

**This teaching illuminates "everything" ? Yes, except for one small thing: the revolutionary road to socialism and communism has been obscured by the modern revisionists....**

**"Stalin Prizes" were awarded on December 9, 1955 - not to deserving communists, but - to.**

**Lazaro Cardenas- President of Mexico;**

**Sheikh Mohammed Al-Ashmar-Syria;**

**Josef Wirth-German Reich Chancellor (Catholic Centre Party) ;**

**Ton Duc Thang-President under the revisionist leadership of Le Duan);**

**Ragnar Forbekk-pastor of Oslo Cathedral.**

**1956:**

**Khrushchev: In one of the last issues (February 1956) of the organ of the Cominform, his speech at the XXth Party Congress was published (!!!) - that is, in the organ of Stalin's Cominform, of all things, which he liquidated after publishing his anti-Stalinist speech ! This shows in which hands the Kominform was in reality - in the hands of the Soviet revisionists !**

**Clearly, Khrushchev disbanded the Cominform after tactically bending before Tito's eyes during a visit to Belgrade in 1955 to ally himself with anyone who supported his course against Stalin. If the great merit of the Cominform was to condemn Titoism, in the end it had to see Yugoslavia transformed back into a "socialist" country thanks to Khrushchev. And even Mao applauded.**

## **PART II**

### **3**

**Relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform**



## **What is the difference between the Comintern and the Cominform ?**

**The Comintern was the highest form of world proletarian class organisation founded by Lenin.**

**The Comintern was the highest form of organisation of the working class of the world socialist camp liberated from Hitler's fascism, founded by Stalin.**

**Formally, in contrast to the Comintern, the Cominform was only an "information and advisory body without superior decision-making authority", non-binding on the Communist Parties. In fact, the decisions and resolutions of the Cominform gave direction and were decisive for common action, not only for the world socialist camp, but also for the entire world communist movement.**

**Without Stalin, without the leadership of the Soviet Union, there would have been no Cominform. We say: the foundation of the Cominform was urgently necessary and has a firm place in the history of the communist world movement.**

**However, we have to ask ourselves the critical question: Was there a theory of the Cominform on which its foundation was based and from which its practice was guided? In answering this question, we find:**

**The theory of the Cominform, the scientific determination of its role in the history of the world communist movement, was not elaborated at its foundation. A theory of the Comintern in which the Comintern is of no relevance is built on sand, is a bourgeois and not a socialist theory. The Comintern (SH) considers the conclusions drawn by the Cominform from the Comintern to be wrong, a betrayal of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. For the Comintern (SH), the theory of the Cominform can be nothing other than the necessary further development of the theory of the Comintern. The role of the Cominform as a mediator of the exchange of information of the Communist Parties within the socialist world camp with the involvement of two Communist Parties from the imperialist world camp could only contribute as a very first beginning to the solution of its task. However, before it even came to the development of an independent theory of the Cominform, which defines the Cominform as the highest class organisation of the socialist world camp with its corresponding Bolshevik principles of organisation, the Cominform was already in the hands of the modern revisionists and was dissolved by them when it was no longer of any use to them. A theory of the Cominform which is not developed on the firm foundation of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern, which ignores or even denies the role of the Comintern in building the world socialist camp, can only be a revisionist theory. This is for us one of the most important lessons of the history of the Comintern.**

**Instead of a preceding elaboration of a theory of the Cominform oriented towards the revolutionary goal of world socialism, actually only the old Dimitroffian tactics of the popular front were taken over and pragmatically imposed on the Cominform. The Cominform was not concerned with the goal of world socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, as it had been anchored in the programme of Lenin and Stalin's Comintern. The Comintern went no further than cementing the status quo of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and imperialist world camps with the main slogan of democratic and peaceful struggle. Lenin's slogan of October Revolution is not to be found in the Cominform. The Cominform opposed the violent socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

**The world revolution was the defence of Lenin's slogan also in the Comintern programme. Therefore, the Comintern programme is still the basis for our general line and for our programme on world communism today. We defend the Comintern programme just as we defend the Communist Manifesto. As far as the world socialist camp is concerned, what was already correctly written about the Soviet Union in the Comintern programme could only have been extended to the world socialist camp and thus brought up to date. But the continuation of the Comintern was rejected and rejected from the outset by the Cominform. To this day, we search in vain for a Marxist-Leninist-based refutation of the correctness or validity of the Comintern's programme. As far as we know, there has never been an officially published decision to justify, let alone declare, the invalidity of the Comintern programme. Decisions have been taken on the dissolution of the Comintern, but not on the invalidity of the Comintern programme. We say: A truly socialist world camp follows the world revolutionary banner of the Comintern programme, orients itself and others to it, is guided by the Comintern programme, defends it against modern revisionism. But the Cominform and the world socialist camp did not want to know anything more about the Comintern programme, and therefore their fate was predetermined, namely to become victims of the modern revisionists. In our opinion, the revisionist development could have been prevented if the Cominform and the world socialist camp had been built strictly according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, all that remains for us today is to draw lessons for the future so that such a history of the Cominform is not repeated.**

**As the bearer of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology of the world proletariat, it is the task of the Comintern (SH) to contribute retrospectively to the theory of the Cominform, because we are fighting, after all, for the restoration of the socialist world camp, albeit for a different socialist world camp, namely modified under the conditions of today's globalisation. A complete and comprehensive theoretical work cannot be done within the framework of this article, for this a separate theoretical article is needed. But we will at least outline the basic features of the theory of the Cominform.**

**The world socialist camp does not only need the leading role of the most developed socialist country in order to be built and to grow. It also needs the proletariat within the imperialist world camp - and vice versa. World socialism can only be victorious through the unification of the entire world proletariat in an "international front" as Stalin put it, that is, through the unification of the proletariat of the imperialist world camp with the working class in the socialist world camp in the struggle for the victory of the world socialist revolution, without which world imperialism cannot be overthrown. It is not the working class of the world socialist camp as a part of the world proletariat that alone treads the road to world socialism. Not one part alone, but the entire united world proletariat is treading this road to world socialism in an "international front", the front for world socialist revolution.**

**The socialist world camp serves the world proletariat for revolutionary global liberation and not vice versa. The revolutionary liberation of the world proletariat cannot be subordinated by anything and by anyone. The unity of the working class can only be achieved through the revolutionary way and not through the revisionist way. The end of capitalism and the beginning of socialism on a world scale stands and falls with the world socialist revolution. The interests of the world proletariat as a whole are always higher than the interests of the proletarians of individual countries, thus also higher than the interests of the working class, which forms the world socialist camp. This is an old Marxist doctrine as already formulated in the Communist Manifesto. And having a socialist world camp does not change its validity. The Comintern (SH) has also adopted this in its general line and adheres to it.**

**The socialist world camp is a lever with which the division of the world proletariat into an already liberated and a still enslaved part is broken. But it would be foolish to assume that this is the only lever. At least as indispensable is the lever of socialist revolution within the imperialist world camp. And it is only by combining them that the leverage necessary to unhinge the old world is created. The socialist world camp does not make the socialist world revolution superfluous, as the Cominform has wrongly assumed. The socialist world camp only creates better conditions for the violent overthrow of the imperialist world camp, which it cannot bring about on its own. However, the Cominform has never worked in the direction of world socialist revolution and never wanted to do so. It limited itself to the democratic struggle. We are not at all against the democratic struggle, but it is to be directed towards bringing about the socialist revolution, the necessity of which the Cominform denied. According to the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, the democratic struggle is an indispensable instrument for bringing about the socialist revolution. Any democratic struggle that does not have as its aim the victory of the socialist revolution is a struggle for bourgeois democracy and not for proletarian democracy, which can only come about through the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie. For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists, a socialist world camp means a lot, but not so much that we would renounce the socialist world revolution only with the socialist world camp in our hands and - as the Cominform unfortunately did - in order to clear the imperialist world camp out of the way on a peaceful, democratic path. This way led straight into the arms of the world imperialist camp. And it could not be any other way, because it was a revisionist way, a way of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.**

**What do we learn from this sorrowful history of the revisionist development of the Cominform?**

**Since the Cominform could be nothing other than the highest class organisation of the world socialist camp, the existence of the Communist International is missing here, which, according to the teachings of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, as the highest form of class organisation of the world proletariat, has to play the leading role until the entry into world communism, i.e., also during the construction of the world socialist camp. In order to end the old age of world capitalism and to replace it by the new age of world socialism, the Communist International as its vanguard organisation is of decisive importance and absolutely indispensable for the world proletariat. This is the most important lesson we have learned from the mistake of the Cominform.**

**Does the leading role of the Comintern mean at the same time the renunciation of the leading role of the Cominform? And does this consequently mean that there can only be the Comintern and not the Cominform ? No, it does not mean that at all. For the world proletariat there is no alternative to choose between the Comintern or the Cominform. The Comintern was correct and remains. The Cominform was also correct and remains. The problem was only that the Cominform could not fulfil its task at all without the Comintern. So it was only the dissolution of the Comintern that was wrong and not the foundation of the Cominform.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that neither the Comintern replaces the Cominform nor, conversely, the Cominform replaces the Comintern. They are both supreme forms of organisation of the working class, both indispensable in the phase of building the world socialist camp, and both complement each other. The Cominform is an integral part of the Comintern, namely, the independent vanguard of that section of the world proletariat which is already liberated from capitalism. Only together with the Comintern and under the leadership of the Comintern can the Cominform fulfil its independent leadership tasks in the world socialist camp. The Cominform only covers the leadership of a part of the world proletariat and cannot at the same time be the leader of the whole world proletariat. A Cominform is useless for the world proletariat, through which there is no more room for the Comintern. A so-called "proxy function" of the Comintern must be rejected on principle, because it does not correspond to the teachings of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. The world proletariat always needs its own world party as long as the world proletariat exists. Without the world proletarian party, without the Communist International, the world proletariat cannot reach world socialism, nor from world socialism to world communism. The Cominform leads the world socialist camp, while the Comintern leads the entire world proletariat.**

**What relation must there be between the Comintern and the Cominform?**

**Quite simply. The relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform corresponds to the relationship that already existed between the Comintern and the CPSU (B) of Comrade Lenin and Stalin. The relationship between the Soviet Union and the Comintern is merely extended as the relationship between the world socialist camp and the Comintern, with the leading role of the most developed socialist country remaining untouched, i.e., continued and extended.**

**Just as the Comintern is indispensable for representing the entire interests of the world proletariat, so is the Cominform indispensable as the representative of the interests of the working class within the world socialist camp. Unfortunately, the Comintern could no longer play its leading role in the building of the socialist world camp because it had been dissolved shortly before. This dissolution of the Comintern is therefore considered the greatest betrayal in the history of the proletarian international. This betrayal therefore consisted not least in the fact that the Cominform had to take up its activity without being led by the Comintern. If the Comintern had continued to lead in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin, it would certainly have been much more difficult for the modern revisionists to get their hands on the Cominform. The world proletariat could have prevented this more easily with the Comintern of comrade Lenin and Stalin continuing to exist (not, of course, with Dimitroff's "Comintern"). The world proletariat and the world communist movement thus have both the experience of the Comintern and the experience of the Comintern, but not the experience of a Comintern integrated into the Comintern. History has instructed us to gain this experience ourselves, as soon as we have created the new world socialist camp, which - as we have always emphasised - cannot and will not be a mere copy of the old world socialist camp.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches, on the basis of historical experience, that a world socialist camp must fail if it is not built under the leadership of the entire world proletariat and its Communist International and, without the Comintern, falls into unilateral dependence on the strongest socialist country. The world proletariat is the only revolutionary class in this globalised world and no one else. Therefore, this global class must also consistently hold the leadership over the world socialist camp and thus naturally also over the most developed socialist country. This does not at all mean that this country loses its function as the most important lever of the world socialist revolution and is no longer the driving force on the road to world socialism. Quite the contrary. Through the enlargement of the world socialist camp, the Soviet Union has become stronger than ever before.**

**The same applies to the role of the Communist Party in the most developed socialist country, both its role within the Cominform in particular and its role within the Comintern, in general.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the transition from the world socialist camp to world socialism is impossible without the Communist International and the Cominform as its most important department. Similarly, the building and consolidation of the world socialist camp in terms of the transition to world socialism is impossible without the driving force of the most advanced socialist country within the world socialist camp. If the world proletariat has again created a socialist camp, then the goal of the world socialist republic cannot be achieved without the leadership of the Communist International and its Cominform Department.**

**Is the theoretical problem of the Cominform thus solved ? By no means. It would be solved on the false premise that the world socialist camp could bring about world socialism by its own efforts. We have always strictly rejected this false theory for the reasons mentioned above, because the work of world socialism can only be the work of the whole world proletariat. Thus, in our previous theoretical model, we have completely disregarded the fact that there cannot be only one Cominform. If the world socialist camp has its own highest form of class organisation in the form of the Cominform, why should the proletariat in the world imperialist camp not have its own highest form of class organisation ? This is the crux of the matter.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that under the leadership of the Communist International, in the conditions of a world divided into a camp of the working class and a camp of the bourgeoisie, there must be not one but necessarily two Cominform. This is the one Cominform as the vanguard organisation of the working class in the socialist world camp, and the other Cominform as the vanguard organisation of the proletariat in the imperialist world camp.**

**We have chosen here the different concept of proletariat and working class, whereby we understand by the term "proletariat" the not yet liberated part of the world proletariat and by the term "working class" the liberated part of the world proletariat. As a generic term we use "world proletariat" as long as it has not yet liberated itself globally, i.e. completely. In world socialism, we should then use a new term, such as "world working class", for the appropriate demarcation.**

**The necessity of the world socialist revolution remains until the complete liberation of the entire world proletariat. It is therefore not rendered superfluous by the socialist world camp, because with this alone the world proletariat cannot and will not be able to liberate itself.**

**Our definition of the world socialist camp is that of a camp which emerges from the socialist revolution in the individual countries, i.e. a camp which expands through the victory of the socialist revolution in ever new countries which voluntarily join the world socialist camp. Outside the Soviet Union, where the October Revolution had already triumphed in 1917, only Albania emerged from comrade Stalin's world socialist camp, in the only country where the people's revolution was transformed into the Siegrist socialist revolution. Accordingly, there were only two countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat prevailed, in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and in comrade Enver Hoxha's Albania. Thus, the communist parties represented in the Cominform were not parties that had led the socialist revolution to victory. There is no socialist revolution without leadership by the Bolshevik Party. And there were no Bolshevik parties (any more) after the 7th World Congress as there were before the 7th World Congress of the Comintern, with which the proletarians could have been led to the victory of the socialist revolution. The Red Army could not suspend the laws of the socialist revolution in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism, could not transform the parties contaminated with the Dimitroff Line back into Bolshevik parties, but only the proletariat in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism. The Red Army could only do one thing, namely, liberate countries from Hitler fascism, in order to facilitate the proletarians' path to the socialist revolution and create more favourable conditions for the restoration of the Bolshevik character of the parties there, in other words, to purge out the modern revisionists. And these external conditions were victoriously created by the Red Army thanks to Stalin. The Red Army could not and was not allowed to do more, because the socialist revolution must come from within, from the proletariat itself. Nevertheless, Stalin helped these countries a great deal by setting up the Cominform, just as he always helped the other countries and their Communist Parties selflessly and shared everything fraternally with them. The Cominform was not only a great gift of the great proletarian internationalist Stalin, but also of the creator of socialist internationalism, namely, the internationalism of Stalin's world camp. In the spirit of Stalin's socialist internationalism, we will build the world socialist republic and make a new contribution to the strengthening of Stalinism-Hoxhaism with the further development of the doctrine of socialist internationalism.**

**A communist party that has stood in the struggle against Hitler's fascism does not automatically make it a communist party that leads the socialist revolution and builds socialism. There is a big difference. The victory over Hitler's fascism was won primarily by Stalin's Red Army and not primarily by the Communist Parties and their own liberation organisations. Thus, it came to popular front governments and fusion with bourgeois parties with which you can build capitalism but not socialism. Socialism can only be built under the sole leadership of Bolshevik parties, such as those created for this purpose in the Soviet Union and Albania.**



**Even if we start from the theoretical premise that the conditions of a socialist world camp would have been fulfilled, that is, that this camp at least emerged from the socialist revolution of the overwhelming majority of all the countries belonging to it, this does not change the indispensability of another Cominform in the imperialist world camp.**

**What should the second Cominform, the Cominform within the imperialist camp have looked like, or what should it look like in the future, when we are simultaneously rebuilding the Cominform of a newly restored socialist world camp?**

**Before we turn our gaze to the future, let us turn it back to the time of the first West European "Cominform", whose construction began after the First World Congress. This was the so-called "Western European Bureau" - "WEB" for short. At that time, the socialist world camp of 1947 did not yet exist, but Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union, which represented the interests of the liberated part of the world proletariat in the Comintern, formed its shock troops, so to speak. Apart from the "West Bureau", the Comintern also initiated the**

#### **First Congress of the "Peoples of the East" (Baku)**

**in September 1920, where there was also cooperation with representatives of the West Bureau (Holland) in order to unite the common struggle of the world proletariat with the oppressed peoples exploited by the imperialist camp. Unfortunately, the first congress was also the last one. It was led by Zinoviev, Radek and other traitors to the cause of the world proletariat. Later, the League Against Imperialism was created, which built on the experience of Baku and was dissolved again because of the growing dominance of the dissenting line of Münzenberg.**

**World imperialism has reached its highest and final stage under the present conditions of globalisation. All countries of the world have been transformed into capitalist countries with a more or less developed proletariat. The globalised army of the world proletariat is objectively ripe for the international revolutionary overthrow of world imperialism. In order to win in the world socialist revolution today, there is still no need for a Comintern as long as no new socialist camp has been formed. And there is no need for a League against Imperialism any more, because the class composition in the colonies and among the oppressed peoples has changed through globalisation in favour of a growing proletariat. In all countries of the world, capitalist class society now exists, the contradiction between wage labour and capital is the basic contradiction, which, as is well known, can only be resolved by means of socialist revolution. Today, the world socialist revolution is on the agenda.**

**So, if at the beginning of the Comintern's activity there was a Western Bureau (to lead the then proletariat in the capitalist countries) and an anti-imperialist organisation for the oppressed peoples (Baku), which fought together under the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples - unite!", this slogan is no longer relevant under today's conditions of fully globalised capitalism and must therefore be discarded.**

**At that time, this slogan was correct and can be considered - although under different conditions today - as the precursor of two bureaux of the Comintern.**

**The WEB [West-European Bureau] was a lever of the Comintern for spreading the October Revolution towards the West, especially towards Germany, where the next victory of the socialist revolution was expected (1918, November Revolution, 1923; Hamburg Uprising, etc.). The First Congress of the Comintern did not yet elect an Executive Committee. It was to consist of delegates from the Communist Parties of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan League, Switzerland and Scandinavia. In the first weeks of 1920, S. J. Rutgers and a small group of collaborators were commissioned by the Comintern to set up a West European office of the Comintern in Amsterdam. This, however, was in the hands of Wijnkoop and Henriette Roland-Holst, who were criticised by Lenin and Stalin for their right opportunism in the same way as we do with Dimitroff, who took over the leadership of the WEB in Berlin in 1929. Wijnkoop's Amsterdam office had issued a bulletin in three languages. His first action was to convene an international conference of groups belonging to the so-called "left camp" in Europe and America. Already on the second day of the conference, the meeting was broken up by the police. The Amsterdam office of the Comintern had to be closed in April 1920 by decision of the ECCI and was reopened in Berlin as a sham - where from now on the WEB was set up according to the conspiratorial rules of illegality. In the WEB, apart from Dimitroff, there were other figures who betrayed the Comintern and later became leaders of the modern revisionists (e.g. Otto Kuusinen).**

**With the coming to power of Hitler's fascism in 1933, the WEB was moved partly to Paris and partly to Copenhagen. With the turn of the 7th World Congress, the Comintern no longer needed a WEB, because since then the socialist revolution was no longer on the agenda in the Western capitalist countries.**

**In today's world of imperialism, the world proletariat is globally exploited and oppressed, which is why the question of two Cominform in a world divided into two camps does not arise for the Comintern (SH) at present.**

**As for the time in the future world socialism, the Comintern (SH) has already prepared a**

## **draft constitution for the WUdSSR**

**where a bicameral system is envisaged on the model of Stalin's constitution and the constitution of the SVR of Albania. In the new socialist world system, the old function of the Cominform as the leader of the socialist world camp will disappear, as well as the old function of the other Cominform, which was the leader of the proletariat in the imperialist world camp - but they could take over a new common function. Both former "camp" Cominform, which have become superfluous, could be merged into a united new class organisation of sections in the individual world socialist countries. Of course, in this new Cominform, with its new functions in the world socialist system, the sections would continue to be under the leadership of the Comintern, which remains unchallenged as the supreme class organisation of the entire world working class under world socialism, in order to lead it globally towards world communism. The relationship between the World Soviet Union and the individual world socialist Soviet republics thus corresponds to the relationship between the World Party and its individual world socialist sections, which have become the sole and leading parties in their country. We continue to use as a template the close relationship created by Stalin between the central CPSU (B) and the parties in the individual Soviet republics.**

**The Cominform of the sections and the Comintern thus do not form a contradiction in world socialism, but a meaningful combination of the highest class organisation, which will continue to exist until all the world socialist countries have merged with each other and, with the entry into the classless world society, the nations have ceased to exist, transforming themselves into voluntary associations as described in the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.**

**After this brief sketch of our theoretical model of the two Cominform, of the two world camps and their new function in world socialism, we return to some historical questions of comrade Stalin's Comintern.**

**The relationship between the Comintern and the Cominform is reflected, among other things, in the relationship of their counterrevolutionary infiltration.**

**Until the dissolution of the Comintern, it was mainly infiltrated by the Gestapo, while after the dissolution of the Comintern, the infiltration of the communist parties came from the secret services of the Anglo-American imperialists - at first more by the British secret services and then increasingly by the American secret services. Thus, the delegates smuggled into the Comintern meetings were such agents and spies who had already worked for the Anglo-American imperialists or for the Titoists as their agency in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe at the end of the 1930s and then during the Second World War, which is documented in detail by the numerous and extensive trial files.**

**Both the agent activities in the Comintern and in the Cominform were primarily directed against Stalin and the Soviet Union. Through the Soviet Union, the danger of world socialist revolution emanated primarily from the Comintern, while through the Soviet victory over Hitler's fascism, the danger already emanated from a world socialist camp. In order to stop the spread of the world socialist camp, the Anglo-American imperialists were forced to infiltrate their agents into the Comintern.**

**One cannot rebuild the Comintern without exposing and avoiding the mistakes of the Cominform. And conversely, you cannot restore the Comintern without exposing and avoiding the mistakes of the Comintern.**

**The Comintern (SH) looks at the history of the Comintern from the point of view of the necessity of re-founding the Comintern on the principles of Marxism-Leninism - one cannot and must not take any other standpoint as a Stalinist-Hoxhaist towards the Comintern.**

**This is one of the most important criticisms of the Comintern (SH) against the Cominform.**

**The anti-Comintern position in Shdanov's report on the international situation delivered at the First Cominform Conference in Poland in September 1947.**

**What we are about to read here may seem "plausible" at first glance, sounds "comprehensible", "reasonable" etc. But what is "Marxist-Leninist" about this, please? But what is supposed to be "Marxist-Leninist" about this, if Shdanov hangs up the Communist International founded by Lenin and its world revolutionary mission on the historical nail? The Comintern has "served its time" forever - that is what he wanted to express with his speech. Well, a Shdanov can "declare the Comintern dead" all he wants, it lives on and will live on!!!**

**That what is left of the old Bolshevik Shdanov when he speaks unctuously about the Comintern like an undertaker?**

**Enver Hoxha was right when he called the old guard of the Bolsheviks "Bolshevik corpses". This includes the "Bolshevik corpse" Shdanov, because he has renounced Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern forever.**

**Shdanov justifies the betrayal of the dissolution of the Comintern as follows:**

**(longer quote:)**

*"The dissolution of the Comintern, which corresponded to the demands of the development of the workers' movement under the new historical conditions, has played its positive role. The dissolution of the Comintern has put an end forever to the slanderous allegation put forward by the opponents of communism and the workers' movement that Moscow allegedly interferes in the internal life of other states and that the communist parties of the various countries allegedly act not in the interests of their people but on orders from outside.*

*The Comintern was created after the First World War, when the communist parties were still weak, a link between the working class in the various countries was almost non-existent and the communist parties did not yet have universally recognised leaders of the workers' movement. The merits of the Comintern are that it restored and strengthened the link between the working people of the different countries, worked out the theoretical questions of the workers' movement under the new conditions that arose after the First World War, established general norms for the propaganda and agitation of communist ideas and facilitated the training of leaders of the workers' movement. This created the conditions for the young communist parties to become mass parties of the workers. However, with the transformation of the communist parties into mass parties of the workers, the leadership of these parties from a centre became impossible and inexpedient. Thus, the Comintern began to transform itself from a factor that promoted the development of the communist parties into a factor that hindered this development. The new stage in the development of the communist parties required new forms of connection between the parties. These circumstances determined the need to dissolve the Comintern and create new forms of inter-party linkage.*

*In the four years that have passed since the dissolution of the Comintern, a significant consolidation of the communist parties took place, a strengthening of their influence in almost all countries of Europe and Asia. The influence of the communist parties grew not only in Eastern Europe, but also in almost all the countries of Europe where fascism prevailed, as well as in the countries which experienced the German-fascist occupation - in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Finland, etc. The influence of the communists grew stronger in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia. The influence of the communists strengthened especially in the countries of the new democracy, where the communist parties are the most influential parties of the state. However, the present situation of the communist parties has its shortcomings. Some comrades have taken the matter as if the dissolution of the Comintern meant the elimination of any connection, any contact between the communist brother parties. Experience has shown that such a separation of the communist parties from each other is incorrect, harmful and basically unnatural. The communist movement is developing within the national framework, but at the same time it has common tasks and interests for the parties of the different countries. A rather strange picture emerges: the socialists, who were literally gushing to prove that the Comintern was supposedly issuing Moscow's directives to the communists of all countries, have restored their International, while the communists, fearing the slander of the enemies concerning the "Hand of Moscow", are even refraining from meetings, let alone consultations on questions of common interest. Representatives of the most diverse circles of activity: Scholars, co-operators, trade unionists, youth and students, consider it possible to maintain an international contact, to exchange their experiences, to consult on questions of their work and to organise international conferences and consultations. The communists, on the other hand, even of countries that are allied with each other, are embarrassed to establish friendly relations among themselves. There is no doubt that such a situation would have extremely harmful consequences for the development of the work of the brother parties if it continued. This need for consultation and voluntary coordination of the activities of the various parties is particularly urgent now, when continued isolation can lead to a decline in mutual understanding and sometimes to serious mistakes."*

We have already set out all the bold assertions with which the futile attempt to justify the dissolution of the Comintern has been made, and continues to be made, even here in Shdanov, in our General Line in

**10 guiding principles in our General Line:** Everyone can read this there.

- The dissolution of the Comintern can be justified by nothing and nobody, because the Communist International is the only party that can lead the world proletariat to world communism.

**- For this reason alone, the dissolution of the Comintern was the worst betrayal of proletarian internationalism, of world socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

**- The dissolution of the Comintern was a stab in the back of our highest ideal - world communism.**

**- The dissolution of the Comintern was not for the abolition of class society, but for its maintenance through "peaceful coexistence" of two world camps.**

**- The dissolution of the Comintern was finally a declaration of war against the revolutionary teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, who have always stood up for the proletarian International and who have fought against those who harmed the proletarian International or even tried to liquidate it.**

**The existence of the Comintern (SH) has confirmed the truth that Lenin had pronounced in his famous sentence:**

**"The proletarian International has never fallen and will never fall!"**

**- The liquidation of the Comintern was a declaration of capitulation to the world imperialist camp and a disservice to all those who participated in the liquidation of the Cominform from outside as well as from within, which nothing can make up for. Whoever justifies the liquidation of the Comintern also justifies the liquidation of the Cominform, no matter in which high tones one praises the Comintern and the Cominform. The liquidators of the Comintern and the Cominform have one and the same name - the modern revisionists ! And today it is the neo-revisionists who justify the crimes of these liquidators against the world communist movement and its Communist International and Stalin's Cominform.**

**With the unanimous acceptance of Shdanov's report on the international situation, all the delegates of the Cominform without exception, without any previous discussion on this, declared both the justification of the dissolution of the Comintern and the rejection of its re-establishment or its replacement by the Cominform as a decided matter right at the founding conference. This decision of the Cominform on Shdanov's report meant at the same time its inevitable end with the first day of its existence.**

**The existence of a Communist International is dependent neither on the ups and downs of the world capitalist camp nor on the ups and downs of the world socialist camp. Consequently, it is never permissible to doubt, revoke, obstruct or even liquidate the indispensability of its existence before the achievement of classless world society.**

**Especially in the building of the socialist world camp, the Communist International is indispensable in the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist world camp. How else can a socialist world camp expand if not through the socialist revolutions in the countries of the imperialist camp ? For the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie, all tactical considerations must remain absolutely subordinate and must not be placed above principles. And the questions of the Comintern and the Cominform are first and foremost questions of principle. Those who evade these questions of principle or deny them for the sake of temporary advantage are opportunists, to put it bluntly. And it is these opportunists who declare our defence of the Comintern and the Cominform to be pure "dogmatism". To adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the Comintern or to the Cominform is not dogmatic at all as long as these principles, like the Comintern or the Cominform, retain their valid justification under the changed world conditions. Dogmatism only begins where one refuses to throw such principles overboard, which under changed conditions must be replaced by correspondingly new principles. Thus, the Comintern must be discarded until there is a new socialist world camp. On the other hand, the Comintern retains its irrevocable right to exist as long as there is a world proletariat, whether in power or not in power.**

**Without a Communist International, the elimination of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism cannot be guaranteed. In any case, a Cominform cannot guarantee the elimination of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism in the world socialist camp, as history has shown. As long as the imperialist world camp exists, the "peaceful coexistence" between the two world camps does not offer any guarantee to eliminate forever the imminent danger of the restoration of capitalism.**

**The doctrine of Stalinism-Hoxhaism is that not only socialism in the Soviet Union is secured only by the victory of socialism on a world scale, but also the victory of socialism in the world socialist camp.**



**Countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat, committed to socialist internationalism, remain committed to proletarian internationalism. And one can only be committed to proletarian internationalism if one is committed to the Communist International. A Cominform that does not commit itself to the Communist International thus also leaves the ground of proletarian internationalism. If the Cominform had rejected the re-establishment of a degenerated Comintern under the leadership of Dimitroff, we would have been very much in agreement. But the Cominform never criticised or condemned Dimitroff. It has always defended this liquidator of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern from beginning to end, instead of reorganising Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern. How can a Cominform be in favour of the cooperation and unification of the Communist Parties when at the same time the Cominform has justified their dissolution as sections of the Comintern ? Must not the sections under the leadership of the Comintern be the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat in the individual countries ?**

**The dissolution of the Comintern broke the internationalist bond which had brought all the sections together and kept them together to fight together for the world socialist revolution, consequently all those nationalist tendencies in the communist parties came to the fore ("own national road to socialism", see: Titoism, Browderism, etc.), which Stalin had declared war on. But the Cominform could not and did not want to re-establish this internationalist bond, because it had refused to rebuild the Comintern from the beginning.**

**The transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist world camp to the dictatorship of the world proletariat is impossible without the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist world camp. And this overthrow of the imperialist world camp is in turn impossible without the world socialist revolution of the entire world proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International.**

**Any "justification" of a premature dissolution of the Comintern can therefore mean nothing other than the justification of the prolongation of the rule of the imperialist world camp, is thus the justification of the impossibility of the transition to world socialism and world communism.**

**It makes a big difference whether the Comintern dissolves itself, or its reconstruction is categorically rejected from the outset by the Cominform, or whether the Comintern is smashed by the international counterrevolution from outside. In the first case, it is a cowardly capitulation to the world bourgeoisie, but in the latter case, the Comintern will immediately embark on its reorganisation because this is what Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches.**

**Just because the October Revolution has NOT yet led to the victory of the world revolution, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists do not give up the struggle for the world revolution ! As long as the world proletariat has to fight for its liberation, the world bourgeoisie must also try to destroy our Communist International in order to maintain its power. And even if world imperialism succeeds in preventing the reconstruction of the Communist International for the hundredth time, then we will reconstruct the Communist International for the 101st time - and beyond that until the Communist International has victoriously completed its world proletarian mission. All "theories" that try to stop us Stalinist-Hoxhaists from building or rebuilding the Comintern (SH) serve the class enemy of the world proletariat. And this includes the justification of the Cominform's decision to reject the reconstruction of the Comintern, whatever "arguments" were and are used to maintain this justification.**

**If Dimitroff dissolved the Comintern, that is bad enough. But if Shdanov, as head of the CPSU (B) delegation, repeats the same reasons for dissolution four years later, this does not make them "right". To our knowledge, the CPSU (B) never and nowhere contradicted Shdanov's refusal to recognise its continued necessity, so we must assume that by convening the Comintern in 1947, the CPSU (B) lowered the coffin of the Comintern even deeper into the ground. And who are the guards at the Comintern's grave? The guards at the Comintern's grave can only be renegades who have long forgotten the victory of the October Revolution, which heralded the beginning of the world revolution.**

**"Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. More precisely, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."**

**From whom did this definition of Leninism come? From Stalin, of course. And Stalin also teaches us why this definition is correct:**

**"Is this definition correct?"**

**I believe that it is correct. It is correct, first, because it correctly points to the historical roots of Leninism, identifying it as the Marxism of the EPOCHE OF IMPERIALISM, in contrast to certain critics of Lenin who erroneously believe that Leninism arose after the imperialist war. It is correct, secondly, because it correctly emphasises the international character of Leninism, in contrast to Social-Democracy, which holds that Leninism is applicable only under Russian national conditions. It is correct, thirdly, because it correctly emphasises the organic connection of Leninism with Marx's teaching, marking it as the MARXISM of the epoch of imperialism, in contrast to certain critics of Leninism who do not consider it to be a further development of Marxism, but only a restoration of Marxism and its application to Russian reality."**

**With the world socialist camp and with the Cominform, has anything changed in the epoch of imperialism ? No.**

**Has anything changed in the international character of Leninism with the world socialist camp and the Cominform ? No.**

**Did the world socialist camp and the Cominform change anything about Leninism as Marxism in the epoch of imperialism ? No.**

**Has anything changed in the Leninist theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat through the world socialist camp and the Cominform ? No.**

**So, on the basis of the continued validity of Leninism at the time of the world socialist camp and the Cominform, can the Comintern, founded by Lenin, be thrown into the scrap heap ? No.**

**He who has buried the Comintern has also buried Leninism.**

**In a report most probably written by Traicho Kostoff, Stalin allegedly told the Bulgarian delegation in 1946 as follows:**

**"We will not restore the old style of the Communist International, and will not follow Marx's thesis that the revolution would take place in all countries simultaneously. This no longer corresponds to our present ideology. " Are these supposed to be arguments against the world socialist revolution and the Comintern?**

**If Stalin is supposed to have actually said this,**

**[which has not been documented anywhere with any certainty. Note: This quotation comes from a Bulgarian traitor who was executed with the approval of comrade Stalin on 16 December 1949 (i.e. exactly 1 month after the 3rd Conference of the Comintern, in the first two conferences of which he had still participated!) and rehabilitated by the modern revisionists on 6 November 1956!]**

**then Stalin here only did not want to restore the "old style" of the Comintern. Can one agree with this? Yes, one can without hesitation.**

**The Comintern (SH) has discarded the old model of the Comintern as a mere umbrella organisation of the federation of national communist parties. In the present conditions of globalisation of the world proletariat, we have replaced this outdated model with a globalised model, according to which there is only one communist party in the world, namely the World Party of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, with its own sections in each country of the world.**

**And then, moreover, this does not mean renouncing the world revolution, but only a modification, the way, the path of its realisation - precisely not in one fell swoop, not simultaneously in all countries ! Stalin did not take this stand only in 1946, but from the very beginning. Can one therefore also agree with it? One must agree with it, because everybody knows that the world revolutionary processes have developed on the whole globe in the course of 100 years. It is this hundred-year objective process of the maturing of the world socialist revolution that shatters every attempt to stick the false label of the so-called "simultaneous breaking loose" on the world socialist revolution. Neither Lenin and Stalin, nor Enver Hoxha ever propagated this "simultaneity" of revolution. On the contrary. They have always propagated the regularity of the unevenness of the development of capitalism in the different countries. But we also know why the enemies of the world revolution have given it this "simultaneous" bogus label. The intention behind it is easy to see through. The world proletariat should not waste any thought on the "illusion" of the world revolution. When this label was put on the world revolution before globalisation, it was already a 100% denial and falsification of the proletarian doctrine of the world socialist revolution. But to want to put this label on world revolution again in the age of globalisation is an even greater crime against communism, because today's process of globalisation is an objective process of globalisation of imperialism and revolution.**

**In contrast to the time of Marx and Engels, when the world communist movement was still in its infancy, at the time of Stalin there was already a socialist world camp, within which the Soviet Union was even a world power and the imperialist world powers were extraordinarily decimated - and weakened as never before. These extremely favourable conditions opened new ways of liberation for the world proletariat, starting with the road to socialism in the People's Democracies.**

**Enver Hoxha also spoke of a "shift in the balance of forces in favour of socialism and [!] revolution" in the post-war period. So Enver Hoxha never separated the question of socialism and revolution, not even at the favourable post-war time, at the time of the Cominform. On the contrary, "These changes [in the post-war period]", writes Enver Hoxha, "put the question of revolution and [!] the victory of socialism on the agenda [!] not only in one or two countries, but in whole regions and continents [!] ." (Enver Hoxha, in: "Eurocommunism", page 17-18)**

**What else can comrade Enver Hoxha have meant by the question of revolution on "whole continents" than the world socialist revolution? And if Stalin is supposed to have said the opposite, then Enver Hoxha could not be Stalin's disciple. However, if someone separated socialism from revolution, it was not Stalin, but it was the revisionists, all of them as they were - inside and outside the Cominform!**

**So there should be no disagreement whatsoever that this extraordinarily favourable world situation created by the Red Army no longer exists today and will not arise again in the same way. Therefore, Stalin's old formula cannot be valid as the basis of the General Line of the Comintern (SH). Today, it is not only a question of conditions of the autocracy of world capital, but an international class struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, a globalised counter-revolution against an already globalised world proletariat. Today, the globalised counterrevolution can only be defeated by a globalised revolution. Today, the world socialist revolution is inevitable. It therefore occupies the central place in the general line of the Comintern (SH). It would be a crime against the world proletariat, and a dogmatic error, to ignore or even lump together this historical inequality of conditions between now and then. Thus, one can only defend Stalinism today by replacing Stalinism under the conditions of then with Stalinism under the conditions of today. Stalin can no longer do this because he is dead. But we Stalinists, who are alive and not dogmatically ossified, can and must do this because it is our duty to adapt the proletarian ideology - as Stalin did - to the latest conditions, in other words: the proletarian ideology dies if it is not further developed. This is precisely what distinguishes us from the neo-revisionists, who are either incapable or too cowardly to do so. They are content with the statement that we are supposedly "anti-Stalinists" only because we "presume" not to want to transfer the old Stalinism of that time to today's conditions. What kind of classics of Marxism-Leninism would they be if they did not dare to reject old slogans and replace them with new ones ? And what kind of students would we be if we did not dare to apply Marxism-Leninism to today's conditions, which is impossible without parting with old slogans that are no longer up-to-date and can no longer help us on the road to world socialist revolution. For this we have written in our**

**"Platform" (2009) in detail.**

**Just as Stalin did not adopt an "anti-Marxist" position when he rejected simultaneous revolution in all countries, neither do we adopt an "anti-Stalinist" position today when we reject the defunct conditions of the world socialist camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and have instead set the globalised world socialist revolution as the general line.**

**And in the same way, we discard the old model of people's democracies that emerged under the conditions of Soviet power. Instead, we rely on newly emerging world socialist states in the course of the victory of the world socialist revolution.**

### **The revisionist "Shdanov thesis" of the two world camps**

**Comrade Enver Hoxha was one of the first to fight the Truman Doctrine, with which the Greek monarcho-fascists militarily provoked Albania. Enver Hoxha was aware that the Truman Doctrine meant an imminent threat of war not only for Albania. He therefore adopted a Marxist-Leninist stance in his assessment of the two hostile world camps:**

**"The socialist camp (stands) opposite the imperialist camp (...)." (Enver Hoxha: 16 November 1960)**

**The Truman Doctrine of 12 March 1947 stated that the world was divided into two camps. Quote from Truman:**

**"At the present moment in the history of the world almost every nation must choose between alternative forms of life. Too often the choice is not free. One way of life is based on the will of the majority and distinguished by free institutions, representative governments, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based on the will of a minority imposed by force on the majority. It is based on terror and repression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections and the suppression of personal liberties."**

**Translated into our words, the Truman Doctrine means of the alleged "free world" (by which capitalism is meant) on the one hand and the world of alleged "totalitarianism" (by which socialism is meant) on the other, that is, the division of the world into a capitalist and socialist world camp.**

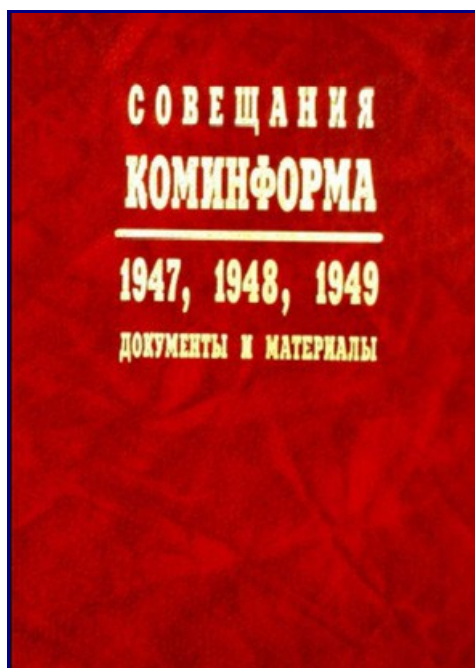
**Truman's doctrine was the doctrine of American imperialism to play the role of world leader in order to save the world from communism.**

**In response, Zhdanov formulated his "theory of the two world camps" at the first Kominform conference on 22 September 1947 - half a year later. In his speech on the international situation, Zhdanov speaks of the**

**"Emergence of two camps, the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp on the other."**

**In our opinion, this definition is a distortion of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism divides the two world camps into the capitalist and socialist world camps and not into a "democratic and anti-democratic" world camp.**

**This is and remains our opinion, even if it should be true that Stalin is said to have approved Zhdanov's report on the international situation on June 16, 1948 (according to the preface of the book on the 3 Cominform Conferences which we have published in Russian):**



### **Банда Тито**

**орудие американо-английских поджигателей войны.**

**Госполитиздат 1951 год.**

**Грибанов (Gribanov), 1951.**



**We consider the re-establishment of the world socialist camp, as it existed at the time after the Second World War until the death of Stalin, to be a dangerous illusion, because it is and remains a historical fact that it turned into a revisionist world camp which prevented the building of socialism. Instead, we fight for a world socialist camp, which comes into being through nothing other than the victory of the world socialist revolution, just as the Soviet Union came into being through the October Revolution. The emergence of two world camps is based on the victory of the socialist revolution, on the victory of the proletarian camp and on nothing else. Those who try to reconcile the old road of the world socialist camp with the new road of the world socialist camp adopt a centrist attitude towards us. Our line of demarcation against neo-revisionism consequently begins with the demarcation of centrist lines, which all lead in the same direction - into the camp of the world bourgeoisie.**

**In the Cominform's definition of the two world camps, one must not confuse tactics with principles. The scientific definition of the two world camps can only be made on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.**

**Of course, we reject the accusation of the world imperialists that both the Comintern and subsequently the Cominform were allegedly "subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union". Is it not the other way round?**

**Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union had, from beginning to end (until Stalin's death), placed itself at the service of the world proletariat and the world socialist revolution, guided by the communist principle of proletarian internationalism.**

**And precisely this fact was a thorn in the side of the world imperialists, which is why their bought historians continue to denigrate the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.**

**So what was so "reprehensible" about Lenin's and Stalin's world camp of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the oppressed and exploited classes?**

**Is it not clear that the world camp led by Stalin's Soviet Union could not be anything other than the socialist camp of the world proletariat, no matter what it might have called itself, whether "democratic", "anti-imperialist" or whatever? The Cominform, on the other hand, called the USSR only a "democratic country", while we Stalinist-Hoxhaists maintain that the USSR was a socialist country.**

**As is well known, we communists do not hide behind a "democratic" veil but openly state our opinion, namely, that we overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Cominform was far from this definition, which is why we must criticise it.**

**It was not a capitalist world camp (whether democratic or fascist, capitalism always leads to fascism!), but a socialist world camp, the camp of proletarian and not bourgeois democracy. Those who do not keep this apart are deceiving the masses.**

**The Comintern (SH) defines the two world camps - just as at the time of the October Revolution, so also at the time of the Cominform - as the world camp of imperialism, opposed by the world camp of socialism.**

**This is the Leninist definition, the essence of which has not changed until today, even if today's "world socialist camp" as an international fighting front of the communist world movement no longer has the lever of a single socialist country, it continues to exist under the leadership of the Comintern (SH) and remains until the victory of world socialism.**

**Enver Hoxha defended the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the two world camps even at the time of the Cominform, when Shdanov issued his revisionist "two world camps" theory as a guideline for the general line of the world communist movement:**

**"Again, and with renewed vigour, its [the immortal theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin] vitality and correctness was confirmed in the greatest war that humanity has experienced to date, a war in which TWO WORLDS, THE SOCIALIST AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD, clashed." [Enver Hoxha, in "Eurocommunism", page 20 - emphasis added by Comintern (SH)]**

**In world socialism, there are no longer two world camps, and thus the peaceful coexistence of the two antagonistic social formations no longer exists. This is what distinguishes the first from the second period of socialism. The essence of world socialism differs from the essence of socialism "in one" country - and likewise of the socialist world camp - precisely in that the division of the world into two opposing social formations has been abolished.**

**The politics of the two world camps is subordinated to the politics of the world revolution, serves it and must not replace it, must not declare it superfluous. The communist character of the socialist world camp is decisive:**

**""The organisation of the forces of the world revolution is therefore only possible on the platform of communism" (Programme of the Comintern 1928).**

**The aim is first of all the destruction of world capitalism and this can only be done by the world proletariat, formed as an international class. As history has proven, the peaceful coexistence of the two world camps - taken alone and in isolation - is not sufficient for this; if the world proletariat does not come close to the world socialist revolution, the peaceful coexistence of Lenin and Stalin is transformed from a driving force to a stumbling block of the world revolution. Conclusion: With such a revisionist interpretation of the policy of the socialist world camp, with which the world revolution is in fact declared superfluous, one does not arrive at world socialism, but ends up straight in world capitalism. And these false conceptions of the two world camps were, in the final analysis, conceptions for the liquidation of the world socialist camp, were conceptions directed against the world revolution of the world proletariat - counter-revolutionary conceptions of modern revisionism, conceptions of the agencies of the world bourgeoisie for the restoration of world capitalism.**

**Thus, one must not raise the coexistence of the two social orders to an "iron law", but must understand it as an inevitable tactical stage on the road to world socialism, which must be left behind as soon as possible. If one absolutises peaceful coexistence, settles comfortably on it, loses sight of the world revolution, is content with what has been achieved, then this inevitably means the restoration of capitalism and turning away from Lenin's teaching on peaceful coexistence. The phase of two world camps is not yet a guarantee of the final victory of socialism, nor can it be. Anyone who says otherwise is a revisionist. The Communist Parties left the Stalinist course to turn to the revisionist course and to be guided by a bourgeois policy. They adapted themselves to the capitalist camp in order to later pander to it instead of overcoming it in a revolutionary way. The subjective factor failed in this world-historical moment of the imminent political takeover of the world proletariat insofar as it was removed from the agenda of the aims and principles of proletarian internationalism.**

**One has to look for the revolutionary, socialist class interests of the proletariat in Shdanov's Cominform speech like a needle in a haystack. The word "class struggle" does not appear once, let alone the word "world revolution", the world proletarian banner of the former Communist International, and there is also nothing - but absolutely nothing - of proletarian internationalism in Shdanov's speech. With its world politics, the proletariat is supposed to fight for anything but communism, except for its own revolutionary class interests. Stalin never forgot that all divisions into world camps, divisions into antagonistic class camps and not class conciliatory world camps, that the class of the world proletariat is hostile to the class of the world bourgeoisie in the international class struggle, that this class struggle begins with the elimination of the world bourgeoisie and ends with the classless society, with the withering away of the class including the world proletariat in communism. Stalinism teaches that the two world camps are waging a struggle to the death, that the class struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie is the main driving force in this.**

**"Thus modern society splits into two great camps, each of these camps organises itself into a special class, the class struggle that has broken out between them grows deeper and stronger with every passing day, and around these two camps all the other groups rally together" (Stalin, Vol. 1, page 247).**

**Proletarian democracy has never developed in the camp of bourgeois democracy and never will be able to develop. Proletarian democracy can only be realised under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, only on the ruins of bourgeois democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be established by the violent revolution of the proletariat, only by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie together with its bourgeois democracy. And only on this principled basis does the world socialist camp fight against the world capitalist camp. Here we come to Lenin's decisive argument against the so-called democratic world camp:**

**"But the Marxists know that democracy does not eliminate class oppression, but merely makes the class struggle purer, broader, more open, sharper, and this is what we need" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 68).**

**By "merely", however, Lenin did not mean "dispensable." On the contrary, Lenin stressed:**

**"Socialism is impossible in a twofold sense without democracy: 1. the proletariat will not be able to carry out the socialist revolution unless it prepares itself for the revolution by fighting for democracy; 2. without the complete realisation of democracy, victorious socialism cannot assert its victory and make the withering away of the state a reality for humanity" (Lenin, Vol. 23, page 69).**

**This Lenin's doctrine is valid on a national as well as on an international scale and this can only mean:**

**Not the democratic, but the socialist world camp eliminates the class oppression of the world imperialist camp - World socialism is not possible without the complete realisation of world democracy. Only the two taken together will lead to the desired result. If the two are separated, the result will be the inevitable defeat of socialism, and this defeat has been historically confirmed.**

**Although the development of democracy under the conditions of world imperialism is narrowly limited and formal, although it can only be realised to a limited extent, we Marxist-Leninists therefore by no means proclaim the renunciation of the organisation of our democratic world front, because a renunciation of the democratic world front of the socialist world camp would mean renouncing the struggle for world socialism altogether, it would mean the impossibility of world socialism in Lenin's sense. And this indispensability of the democratic struggle imperiously applied to the particularly favourable situation after the Second World War, namely, that favourable situation of breaking up to a certain extent the otherwise narrowly limited framework of bourgeois democracy at the weakest moment of the world bourgeoisie and, with the defeat of fascism, opening the way to proletarian democracy for the world proletariat and making it easier for it to achieve the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Where the war had shaken and almost completely destroyed the economic basis of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the democratic will of the masses alone might have been sufficient to be able to take reconstruction into one's own hands without having to reckon with any significant resistance from the factory and land owners. With the fall of fascism, with the end of the war and the immediate beginning of the post-war period, there was indeed for a very short time such a peaceful and democratic phase as the last chance, after bestial war and fascism, to avoid again victims of an imminent world civil war and to take advantage of the peaceful development of the world revolution on the basis of the deep desire for peace and the overwhelming need for democracy among the masses of millions throughout the world. This was a similar situation (only this time on a world scale) to that between the February and October Revolutions, where Lenin worked to exploit the possibilities for a peaceful development of the revolution on the basis of the devastating situation at the outcome of the First World War, in order to prevent the threat of civil war in Russia (see Lenin, Vol. 26). Even with the slightest chance, this democratic tactic of the world revolution was not necessarily hopeless on the basis of the existing socialist world camp, on the basis of the mass base on the one hand and the weakened situation of the bourgeoisie on the other, if it were against the basic needs of the masses to renounce a tactical attempt at peace from the outset or to miss the moment of this attempt and let it pass uselessly.

To realise democratic principles of the post-war world, that's what the socialist world camp needed, so of course that was good. Even very good. We have nothing against that. On the contrary. There was perhaps for a short time after the Second World War a peaceful possibility of concessions, especially to the democratic petty bourgeoisie (not to the big bourgeoisie, in whose regeneration after the war Stalin could not of course be interested at all). However, Stalin also spoke of concrete conditions under which the "patriotic bourgeoisie" could be exploited, for example, in a conversation with Enver Hoxha - March/April 1949:

"Lenin teaches us that where the revolution is anti-imperialist in character, the communists can exploit the help of the patriotic bourgeoisie during the first phase of the revolution. This depends, of course, on the concrete conditions, on the attitude of this bourgeoisie itself to the most burning problems facing the country. In the People's Democratic countries, for example, the big bourgeoisie had got involved with the German occupiers and helped them. When the Soviet army liberated these countries, the bought bourgeoisie chose the road to emigration" [Stalin, quoted by Enver Hoxha, in: "Encounters with Stalin, page 94, KPD/ML, 1980)].

**In addition, with the Great Patriotic War, the petty bourgeoisie had initially fully sided with Soviet patriotism under the ravages of Hitler's fascism. In the post-war period, Soviet patriotism again faded into the petty bourgeoisie. The intelligentsia in particular began to look to the "democratic" (as opposed to fascist) West. And the petty bourgeoisie, which had so vehemently sided with anti-fascism, began to take more interest in Western democracy than in the proletarian democracy of the East. All these changes increased particularly from the moment when the world bourgeoisie regained its footing and quickly found itself on the road to regeneration, which it was able to do mainly with the wealthy position of American imperialism. If for a moment the democratic petty bourgeoisie wavered back and forth between the capitalist and socialist world camps, perhaps to take the peaceful democratic side of the socialist world camp, where [not only ] the [empty] hand should have been extended to it, this changed with the rapid regeneration and the increasingly aggressive attitude of the capitalist world camp, with the USA in the lead, towards the socialist world camp, the wavering, capitulant behaviour of the petty bourgeoisie quickly re-established itself. To take the side of the supposedly weaker in words in order to capitulate to the stronger in deeds, that is the paction of the petty bourgeoisie on a world scale.**

**Concessions to the petty bourgeoisie depend not only on one's own proletarian strength, but also on the weakness of the class enemy, and this is especially true in wartime situations, where the balance of power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can change from minute to minute. In times of crisis and war one must, of course, take advantage of these petty-bourgeois fluctuations which occur more frequently, but one must not burn one's fingers in the process. The proletariat must remain in control of the situation of its alliance policy in every rapidly changing situation. With the beginning of the Cold War, more and more forces of the democratic petty bourgeoisie again sided with the bourgeoisie, which is why Stalin did not renounce the continuation of his democratic world struggle, but the once still favourable conditions had quickly deteriorated again and this did not require the maintenance of tactics for concessions, but on the contrary demanded their tactical retreat (imposed by the changed conditions). The democratic world front is not static, it moves back and forth between the two world camps and struck out more strongly immediately after the war than in the further course of the post-war period. All these things have to be kept in mind tactically in order to be able to manoeuvre with them optimally. Sometimes things are exhausted and then you have to change your tactics if you don't want to suffer defeats on the democratic world front and keep your foot in the door. In any case, you cannot deal with the proletarian world front in the same way as with the democratic world front. There are essential (class) differences. Under no circumstances should one equate them or even allow the proletarian world front to be absorbed into the democratic world front. This is the decisive thing that Dimitroff had already failed to understand in the anti-fascist world front. Zhdanov had not learned any lessons from the betrayal of the Comintern leadership, which is why his "democratic" world front was bound to fail, to the delight of the capitalist world camp and to the detriment of the socialist world camp.**



**Has the nature of the imperialist USA changed one iota since the Second World War? Of course not. But why then was the imperialist USA defined as a "democratic, anti-fascist country" at the time of the struggle against Hitler's fascism? After the victory over Hitler fascism, the USA was the leader of the imperialist world camp, which was now facing a "democratic" world camp. Have we perhaps failed to grasp Marxism-Leninism correctly in this chameleon transformation of the American concept of "democracy"? Perhaps we should have consulted Earl Browder, who dissolved the C.P.U.S.A. because he believed that the America of imperialism would transform itself into an America of socialism. The fact is, however: The American imperialists fought Hitler's fascism only to hide their own fascism behind it. Browderism was the precursor of capitulation to American imperialism. That American imperialism also meant war and fascism from the very beginning, even when it was directed against Hitler's fascism at that time, is a historical truth that has been proved true with every passing day. The plan to solve the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat through class reconciliation in the post-war period and to unite the whole world through peaceful coexistence was an anti-Marxist-Leninist conception that Stalin had already rejected during the Second World War. But it was only after the war that this conflict broke out. And it was, after all, none other in the world than Stalin who first opened world fire against American imperialism after Hitler's surrender, using the Cominform as a powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist united front. The American imperialists had not sided with Stalin in support of communism, but did so for purely imperialist reasons, namely, in the interests of their world domination. For this, with the help of Stalin, first Hitler had to be eliminated as a competitor and then Stalin had to be eliminated, i.e. strengthening of the imperialist world camp under American leadership with the aim of destroying communism and the world socialist revolution. This was and is the strategy of American imperialism up to the present day. After Stalin's victory over Hitler, the USA was forced not only to save itself but to prevent the imminent fall of the entire imperialist world camp through the worldwide expansion of the socialist world camp. If the newly published documents can be trusted, they also bring to light the position of Molotov, who - even before he drew up the Molotov Plan in 1947 - was one of the advocates of cooperation with the American imperialists when he proposed to participate in the implementation of the Marshall Plan.**



### *Molotov- / Marshall Plan – 1948*

**In 1949, Stalin removed him as foreign minister. Even after Stalin's death, Molotov was one of those who collaborated with the American imperialists, especially with regard to the "peace negotiations" of the Soviet revisionists.**

**However one may assess the situation at the end of the war - and we do not deny that there may have been certain compromise solutions due to the temporarily favourable world situation following the collapse of Hitler's fascism, in which one gives in without harming the socialist world camp - but it always remains an iron law of Marxism-Leninism, irrespective of these particularities in history, that the democratic struggle in principle, i.e. also in practical-concrete terms, serves the socialist struggle, is subordinate to it and not vice versa. Only the opportunists limit their attitude to the "class struggle" to the creation, maintenance or re-establishment of bourgeois conditions. It is precisely a tactic which is adopted only in a certain sphere of (socialist) politics and which arises for a brief moment as a result of the changed world situation, such a tactic which must be dropped again at the necessary moment as soon as conditions have changed, to elevate such a tactic inadmissibly to the rank of principle, To want to declare a tactic specifically tailored to the moment as a new "general line", in order in this way to replace Stalin's "obsolete" general line, to replace the violent road to socialism with the peaceful road to socialism, precisely this corresponds to the physiognomy of opportunism in the question of the "democratic world camp", which in principle should REPLACE the solution of the question of the socialist world camp.**

**And Malenkov? In his report to the XIXth Party Congress, he adopts the attitude of "peace, friendship, pancakes" in the field of the foreign policy of the USSR, instead of adhering to the Communist Manifesto like Lenin and Stalin, upholding the class struggle of the proletarians of all countries, the world revolution, and standing up for the smashing of capitalism and world imperialism. Comrade Stalin was quite different. In his account at the XVII Party Congress he said:**

**"But while the bourgeoisie chooses the road of war, the working class of the capitalist countries (...) takes the road of revolution" (Stalin, Vol. 13, page 265).**

**In the report to the XVIIIth Party Congress, however, Stalin no longer explicitly emphasised the question of war and revolution, which is a fact that must not be swept under the carpet when one looks at Malenkov's report.**

**It is the nature of imperialism to produce war and fascism again and again, and inevitably. And as we have seen in the revisionist countries, modern revisionism also showed its bloody social-fascist and people-murdering social-imperialist face, which can only be polished by the revolutionary working class - and Stalin would certainly agree with us if he were still alive.**

**The Comintern (SH) thus remains firmly on the revolutionary ground of Leninism with its world policy today:**

**"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular" (Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism).**

**However, there was never any mention of this in the Cominform from beginning to end.**

**Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the theory and tactics of the world proletarian revolution in general and the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the world proletariat in particular. This is the answer of the Comintern (SH) to the Comintern traitors and all their present-day followers.**

**Lenin had divided the world into a capitalist camp and a socialist camp.**

**With Stalin we could cite a whole dozen quotes and we have already cited some of them. Let us take a quotation from Stalin's paper "On the Next Tasks of Communism in Georgia and Transcaucasia" of July 6, 1921:**

**"It hardly needs proof that with the beginning of the civil war the world has split into two opposing camps, the camp of imperialism with the Entente at its head and the camp of socialism with Soviet Russia at its head, that in the first camp there are all sorts of capitalist, `democratic` [sic!!] and Menshevik states, while to the second camp belong the Soviet states, including Georgia (...)," (Stalin, Vol. 5, page 76).**

**Let us take the other quotation from Stalin. In 1924, in the same work `On the Foundations of Leninism', he wrote:**

**`a) the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilised nations which possess financial capital and which exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe, and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies and dependent countries which constitute this majority` (Stalin, vol. 6, page 148, alb. edition). We have chosen this quotation deliberately: For it was from these two camps of exploiting and oppressing nations and the exploited and oppressed nations that Mao concocted his infamous "3 - World Theory".**

**And Stalin, not only in his "Early Writings", but even in 1952 in his last writing "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", clearly defined what it was about, namely a "socialist camp opposed to capitalism" (Moscow, 1952, page 37, German edition). Thus there can be no question of a "democratic world camp" either with Lenin or with Stalin.**

**There is no socialist world camp in which there is room for revisionists. A socialist world camp which forms a united front with the revisionists exposes itself to the danger of the restoration of capitalism. And history has shown that after the death of Stalin, the socialist world camp did indeed turn into a revisionist world camp.**

**The concept of anti-imperialism is also a class concept. There is no "anti-imperialist" struggle that is above class society. There is the anti-imperialism of the different classes, whereby we Stalinist-Hoxhaists distinguish revisionist "anti-imperialism" from proletarian anti-imperialism, just as we distinguish revisionist "anti-fascism" and revisionist "democracy" from proletarian anti-fascism and proletarian democracy. These are antagonistic contradictions between revisionism and proletarian ideology, which can only be resolved by revolutionary means. Without defeating revisionist "anti-imperialism", one cannot defeat imperialism. Without defeating revisionist "anti-fascism", one cannot defeat fascism either. And without defeating revisionist "democracy", one cannot defeat bourgeois democracy either.**

**For all the reasons we have given, we reject Shdanov's "theory of the two camps in world politics". In essence, Shdanov's "division of the world" is no different from Mao's "three worlds theory" = anti-Marxist. Both the one and the other "theory" deny the existence, the independence of socialism, whereas Shdanov's "theory" differs from Mao's "theory" only in that with him socialism is identified with the "democratic world camp" in order to disappear into it, whereas with Mao socialism is identified with the "Third World camp" in order to disappear into it. We reject both as revisionist divisions of the world. And once again: there is no "third way" (Third World) to socialism, just as there can be no "democratic world camp" that leads "peacefully" to world socialism. A democratic world camp can only be built by way of world socialist revolution. If one divides the world into an anti-democratic and a democratic camp, as Shdanov did, then there is no more room for a socialist camp ! And so it came to pass !**

**And Tito's "non-aligned world?" Tito copied this world policy, which was in the service of American imperialism, from Browder. And we don't know who copied everything from whom, but one thing is clear to us: between Shdanov's, Mao's, Tito's, Browder's, Dimitroff's etc. world politics, the spirit of the Second International and the common anti-Bolshevik course is the same throughout: abolition of the dividing line between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between socialism and capitalism. All these types of world politics worked hand in hand against Stalin's world politics, especially Shdanov's world politics and Tito's world politics ! They are identical in nature.**

**And today? After the last socialist bastion of Albania fell in 1990, world imperialism rules over all countries of the world. Today, the world is not only ripe for the re-establishment of a new socialist camp, but even for the establishment of world socialism. The Comintern (SH) is therefore fighting for the complete smashing of all world imperialism to create a new socialist world order. In this way we want to end the imperialist epoch and eliminate forever the inevitability of the division of the world into capitalist and socialist camps. The Comintern (SH) holds the theory of the political camp of the world proletariat and the political camp of the world bourgeoisie. The world revolutionary camp is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard party, the Comintern (SH). The Comintern (SH) represents the world politics of the proletariat, the conquest of the political power of the world proletariat by means of its proletarian world revolution, which consists in overthrowing the world dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the world dictatorship of the proletariat. Our definition of the two world camps today is:**

**The world today is divided into the camp of the world proletarian revolution and the camp of its opponents, the camp of imperialist counterrevolution.**

**Comrades, can the general line of the Comintern (SH), the line of the camp of the world proletarian revolution, be expressed more clearly and unambiguously ? We think not. Either one subordinates oneself to our Stalinist camp of the proletarian world revolution or one opposes our camp. A "revisionist in-between" à la Shdanov or à la Dimitroff cannot and will not exist again.**

**How did Stalin pose the question of the two world camps ?**

**Stalin saw the two world camps in such a way that "in the course of the further development of the international revolution and international reaction, two centres will emerge on a world scale: a socialist centre which will exert an attraction on the countries tending towards socialism, and a capitalist centre which will exert an attraction on the countries tending towards capitalism. The struggle of these two camps will decide the fate of capitalism and socialism in the whole world" (Stalin, Works, Vol. 10, page 118).**

**These two centres on a world scale, which Stalin names above, are today - under the class relations of globalisation - clearly defined: namely, the world centre of the world proletariat and the world centre of the world bourgeoisie.**

**The world revolutionary victory of the socialist world centre over the capitalist world centre - this is today the basis of Stalinism for the establishment of world socialism.**

**And Stalin has consistently led the struggle for the practical realisation of the establishment of world socialism on this theoretical basis with an overwhelming world-historical result. Stalin turned the "old balance" of the two world camps upside down. Stalin built the revolutionary world front to smash world imperialism - a world-historical deed that optimally expressed the interests of the world proletariat at that time. Stalin developed an ideological basis for a new, Marxist-Leninist, an active, offensive world proletarian policy which began to transform the previous isolation of socialism "in one" country into an isolation of capitalism in "two" countries, Anglo-American capitalism. It was the new Stalinist world policy of the encirclement of capitalism by socialism. The Cold War of the imperialists was the first war in the history of imperialism where the question had to be decided: which encirclement will win, capitalist or socialist ? Who will encircle whom ?**

**The Cominform was not the same as a reorganised old Comintern. It served to consolidate and spread Stalin's world socialist camp, served as an international instrument of struggle to combat revisionist influence in the world communist movement, was a bulwark erected against this influence, especially against Titoism, which had succeeded in masquerading as a world stage of revisionism directed against Stalin's Soviet Union and the world socialist camp. The Cominform was an attempt to push back the revisionist influence in the revisionist parties and to strengthen the revolutionary forces in the world and thus also the Soviet Union and its socialist camp. A bourgeois democratic world camp is in essence a world camp for the rich and a fraud on the world camp of the workers . The world camp of proletarian democracy can only be the camp of the world dictatorship of the proletariat and not that of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie. In between, there cannot and will not be a "world camp".**

**The democratic world camp model is a model of peaceful coexistence, a world camp of "maintaining the balance" of the international class forces between the two poles - world proletariat and world bourgeoisie , while the task of the socialist world camp is to eliminate the capitalist world camp. There is no democratic, peaceful road, but only the socialist, armed road to world socialism.**

**Enver Hoxha:**

**"Imperialism will not voluntarily give up its weapons. To believe such a thing is as much as to deceive oneself and others." (From his speech of 16 November 1960)**

**For us Marxist-Leninists, it is ultimately a matter of eliminating the inevitability of the two world camps, i.e. of smashing world capitalism and managing the transition to world socialism. The situation of the two world camps is, after all, only a temporary transitional situation in which it will be decided which path will win, the path to world socialism or the path to world capitalism. Neither can and will last forever. And this is what a Bolshevik world policy must be geared to, which is sadly lacking in Shdanov. In the end, the new world will defeat the old world and eliminate forever the divided world. There is no in-between, no need for an in-between stage. The perpetuation of the policy of the two world camps is revisionist because it always leads to the salvation of world capitalism. Thus, the world socialist camp is not the historical "end" of the development of socialism, but only a step towards the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the elimination of world capitalism.**

## **Cominform and the question of people's democracy as a "modern type" of the dictatorship of the proletariat**

- **proletarian or bourgeois democracy?**
- **the revisionist degeneration of people's democracies (- causes).**

**There is agreement that Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet democracy was based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, there is ambiguity and disagreement as to whether or not the "modern type" of people's democracy was actually built on the dictatorship of the proletariat. For us, this question has been clarified.**

**The Comintern (SH) defends only one type of people's democracy, the type of socialist people's democracy, that is, exclusively the socialist people's democracy of Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha.**

**The only true people's democracy, that is the socialist people's democracy under the sole leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.**

**With our standpoint, we distinguish ourselves in principle from the people's democracies of all other countries, which we classify as revisionist people's democracies under the rule of revisionist parties - except for their positive development in the initial period (during Stalin's lifetime). History has proved that all these people's democracies on the road to socialism had fallen victim to the treachery of this or that modern revisionist.**

**It follows from this:**

**We separate ourselves from the neo-revisionists who defend these revisionist people's democracies as "socialist" people's democracies.**

**And finally, we separate ourselves from the centrists who try to reconcile the socialist people's democracy with the revisionist people's democracy.**



**Between revisionist and socialist people's democracy there can be no common ground, no agreement, no mixed forms or intermediate stages of any kind. Between revisionist and socialist people's democracy there is an antagonistic, i.e., irreconcilable contradiction between the new bourgeoisie and the working class, which can only be solved by socialist revolution. This is what Hoxhaism teaches us, the anti-revisionist doctrine which showed the working class in the revisionist countries the way to socialist revolution.**

**A socialist people's democracy can only develop on the basis of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism, just as world socialist democracy can only develop on the basis of the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism.**

**Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and comrade Enver Hoxha's Albania - as we have always repeated - were the only two socialist states in the world in which the dictatorship of the proletariat actually ruled. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement of the Comintern (SH), the communist world movement after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, is guided by this historical truth. On the lessons of the Albanian and Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat we are building the dictatorship of the world proletariat, without which there cannot and will not be a world proletarian democracy.**

**What we criticised in Mao Zedong's so-called "new democracy", in the "democratic dictatorship of the people".**

**(see Part 2: Declaration of War on Maoism),**

**namely, the unification of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, we also criticise in all other revisionist forms of "democracy", including Dimitroff's People's Democracy as derived from his Popular Front politics in the Comintern period.**

**Democratism must not be used as a classless concept for us communists. Beyond proletarian and bourgeois democracy, there can be no superior democracy standing above the classes. We Stalinists-Hoxhaists take care to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian democracy in principle, not to equate or even oppose the two concepts, after all, proletarian democracy arises from nothing other than the revolutionary overcoming of bourgeois democracy. Whereby it is clear that there can be no mixed democracy of proletarian and bourgeois democracy in between. The Cominform never addressed this in principle. Therefore, it would have been correct if the Cominform had only used the term world camp of proletarian democracy. As is well known, communists are not only against the fascist form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but also against its democratic form. We want to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and we cannot do that if we limit ourselves only to overthrowing the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. That would be opportunism. Bourgeois democracy, which is nothing but a form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, cannot be voted out of office, but must be overthrown by armed socialist revolution. The same applies to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution teach that we are not fighting for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, but for its revolutionary overthrow. Our goal is the dictatorship of the proletariat. An intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism (such as the Maoist "New Democracy") is opportunist and incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.**

**Stalinism, that is the further development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of revolution, of the transition of the people's revolution to the socialist revolution under the created conditions of the victory of the Great Patriotic War.**

**It was victoriously implemented by Enver Hoxha in Albania, further developed and thus practically confirmed. However, this form was based firstly fundamentally on the precondition of the strong dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet Union as the basis and lever of these people's democracies and secondly as a new form of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in those countries which the Soviet army had already liberated (or Albania as an exception, which was able to liberate itself from fascist subjugation without the invasion of the Soviet army. This is very important.) and had thus snatched them from the grasp of world imperialism. Without these preconditions, the people's democracies as they emerged would not exist.**

**The popular-democratic revolution of the proletariat does not replace its immediate continuation into the socialist revolution, but directly and immediately prepares the ground for the socialist revolution. These two revolutions are neither to be equated nor separated by an artificial intermediate stage, but are successive, merging forms of a unified process of permanent revolution (see the teachings of Hoxhaism on the people's revolution and its transition into the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania: Revolutionary elimination of military and political oppression and ending of economic exploitation by the fascist occupation as a prerequisite for the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of the socialist economy). One must not stop halfway there. The socialist struggle is the indispensable and immediate continuation of the [!!] democratic, anti-fascist struggle led by the communists , in order to consolidate the people's revolution and ensure the victorious transition from the people's revolution to the socialist revolution, otherwise the people's revolution must fail. The modern revisionists preached to hold back in the class struggle, preached to stop the class struggle. Supposedly, attacking the bourgeoisie too sharply would harm the road to socialism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists teach just the opposite: any retreat from the class enemy encourages it to fight against the revolution and socialism. Without sharpening the class struggle of the proletariat, the road from popular revolution to socialist revolution remains an illusion. This is betrayal of the working class and that is why we fight this betrayal propagated by the neo-revisionists today.**

**Within the framework of a democratic world camp, one cannot permanently unite the masses of millions of toilers in class struggle on the basis of the capitalist conditions of a bourgeois democracy, because it cannot eliminate them itself. These millions of toilers remain as members of exploited classes as long as they belong to a democratic world camp. Only in the socialist world camp can the labouring masses of millions unite under the leadership of the proletariat to form a lasting alliance, exploitation and oppression be eliminated, the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated and socialist economics built up, etc., etc..**

**A democratic world camp can perhaps loosen the fetters of fascism, can ease the situation and the struggle of the working class but can never eliminate the class fetters of capitalism.**

**A democratic world camp finds ready-made forms of capitalist relations. The socialist world camp must first create the new forms of socialist relations.**

**A democratic world camp must never replace the socialist world camp, because only the latter has a longer lever and a broader basis for triggering the world socialist revolution than socialism "in one" country. The rule of the world bourgeoisie cannot be broken in a peaceful way, with a democratic world camp. With a democratic world camp one cannot establish a dictatorship of the world proletariat.**

**A socialist world camp must not be confused with a petty-bourgeois "peace, friendship and egg-cake" world camp (cf. Mao's petty-bourgeois pacting: "good" capitalists / "bad" capitalists) and certainly not sold out to this petty-bourgeois pacting with the bourgeoisie. The proletarians have no principles to give away, neither to the bourgeoisie nor to the petty bourgeoisie. The tactics of the democratic world struggle must not be misused to disarm the world socialist camp, but must rather contribute to strengthening, enlarging and consolidating the world socialist camp. We criticise Shdanov not for advocating the exploitation of the possibility of the democratic world front, but for inadmissibly deriving from it in the Cominform a principled class line, namely, to replace the socialist world camp with the democratic world camp - and all this at a time when the peaceful "breathing space" was over and the Cold War was already in full swing, when one had to concentrate again on military questions of protecting the socialist world camp and continuing the world revolutionary war of liberation, and thus the democratic possibilities of changing class relations in the world immediately after the end of the war had long since been buried by the imperialists (1948 ! !!).**

**Stalinism is not exhausted in the building of a democratic world front. It is only a component of the united front tactics of Stalinism under the given momentary conditions of the changing political world situation.**

**A democratic world camp is by no means sufficient for the goal of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, does not alone fill the Stalinist foreign policy, for example, not only to defeat Hitler's fascism, but to abolish the inevitability of war and fascism in general.**

**This struggle against the inevitability of fascism cannot be the democratic struggle, but only the socialist struggle. Only with the world dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitability of fascism eliminated - not before, that is, not through a "democratic world camp". In order to remove the inevitability from fascism, in order to consistently realise the democratic principles of the post-war period, Shdanov should have fought for the revolutionary annihilation of world imperialism through the world proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat:**

**"Not yet a single question of the class struggle [not even the class question of the democratic or anti-fascist struggle - note W.E.] has been decided in history otherwise than by force" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 459).**

**The question of the international class struggle cannot be decided otherwise than by revolutionary violence on a world scale, by the violent proletarian world revolution, while the democratic world front can only facilitate this struggle.**

**The essence of proletarian anti-fascism has never been to serve the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy, for fascism has arisen from none other than bourgeois democracy, and from it will always only inevitably arise new fascism, but never socialism. Therefore, whoever fights for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie cannot belong to the camp of socialism and thus cannot be a fighter for proletarian democracy, cannot be a true anti-fascist. Only proletarian anti-fascism is true anti-fascism, is the only anti-fascism in the world that will eliminate the scourge of fascism from the globe forever through world socialism. The world bourgeoisie is primarily concerned with keeping its economic world power in its hands, the question of political form is subordinate to this; in this respect the world bourgeoisie is "flexible", it is even willing and able to make certain concessions to the proletariat in questions of democracy, which the proletariat in turn knows how to exploit for its socialist revolution.**

**" ... under strong pressure 'from below' the bourgeoisie has always and everywhere 'resigned itself' to the republic if only it retained its economic domination" (Lenin, Vol. 26, page 36). [or got it back - W.E.].**

**So, as far as the democratic questions are concerned, one must not create dangerous illusions; this is not a way of eliminating capitalist class society, as Lenin correctly pointed out. It is a question of eliminating the political power of the world bourgeoisie in order to be able to wrest world economic power from it in the first place - and this is a socialist, not a democratic question of the class struggle.**

**The most consistent anti-fascists can only be the proletarians as a revolutionary class, can only be the communists, because they are the only anti-fascists who fight not only against this or that concrete, particular fascism, but beyond that against its inevitability, against fascism in general and in general, against social-democratic pactanship towards the bourgeoisie as the other side of the coin of fascism.**

**To want to force the world proletariat into a democratic camp at the cost - mind you: at the cost of the socialist camp - is thus revisionist, means to end up in the bourgeois camp of social-democratism on the tracks of Dimitroff's revisionist united front tactics.**

**The Mensheviks have never done anything but vacillate in the face of Stalinism. And the most violent fluctuations of Menshevism took place with the emergence of the class struggle between the world socialist and capitalist camps after the Great Patriotic War. The Mensheviks, disguised as "Stalinists", could not consistently decide for either camp. They took no independent stand whatsoever, but resorted to the phantom of the "democratic world camp". For Stalin, this did not at all mean that he was indifferent to this petty-bourgeois buffer zone between the bourgeois and the proletarian world camps. He masterfully knew how to transform these neutralising forces into forces against world imperialism, even if only within a limited framework and for a limited time.**

**The vacillating attitude between the camp of the bourgeoisie and the camp of the proletariat is far from the class standpoint of the world proletariat and always corresponded to the essence of Menshevism, indeed always expressed the class standpoint of the petty bourgeoisie especially when these two camps clashed irreconcilably and with gigantic forces. It is clear: at no time in the history of socialism did the two camps, bourgeoisie and proletariat, clash so violently as precisely in the period of the capitalist and socialist world camps, had the wavering attitude of Menshevism never become such a great stumbling block as with the entry into the transitional phase from the capitalist to the socialist world, that is, under the post-war conditions of Stalinism. Thus, in the whole history of the CPSU (B), there was no more comparable bitter struggle against Menshevism than just at this time.**

**The slogan of the "democratic world camp" is a class conciliatory slogan which leads away from socialism and back to capitalism, which paves the way for the restoration of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that capitalism must be smashed by socialist revolution, that the revolutionary smashing of fascism must be combined with the direct aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat - and this as the Albanians have demonstrated. It is to the credit of Stalin and Enver Hoxha that their Marxist-Leninist thesis of the revolutionary transition from fascism to socialism has been confirmed and proven in practice (and thus remains valid on a world scale !! ) and that this transition cannot possibly be guaranteed by a reformist popular front policy or reformist world democracy policy, in whatever form. So what does it mean today, validity of this Marxist-Leninist thesis under the conditions of globalisation ?**

**The Stalinists of today, we World Bolsheviks, are fighting for the transition of world fascism into world socialism with the help of the democratic world struggle. Today's anti-fascist struggle is in essence a world revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the world proletariat to crush world fascism and to establish the world dictatorship of the proletariat. This is our demarcation line, this is the basis of our alliance policy for our globalised united front against world fascism. For us, there is only one anti-world fascist united front, namely the one led by the revolutionary world proletariat and leading directly to the conquest of its political world domination over world imperialism.**

**Those who deny this and instead follow the revisionist "two-stage theory" of restoring more moderate, "still tolerable" forms of government to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in order to get "from there" on the peaceful road to world socialism, allow fascism to inevitably develop again from bourgeois democracy. To justify this with "Marxism-Leninism" is social fascism, namely socialism in words and fascism in deeds. We Marxist-Leninists are not only opponents of this "stage theory" of the peaceful way to socialism on a national scale, we are even more so as internationalists on a world scale. There is no peaceful way of a democratic world camp to a socialist world camp, there is no peaceful way to world socialism as long as world imperialism dominates the world.**

**The communist fights only for the one democracy, namely for proletarian democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which does not exclude alliances and compromises on the way to it, but very much excludes such rotten alliances and compromises which lead away from the goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the anti-fascist struggle, one can fight for true democracy only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and this means nothing other than fighting for proletarian democracy, for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and precisely not for the continuation or re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian democracy is not divisible with the bourgeoisie; they are mutually exclusive. The disintegration and eventual elimination of bourgeois democracy is not a Bolshevik invention, but an absolute historical necessity and as inevitable as the victory of proletarian democracy. This is an irrefutable lesson of history, a confirmation of the teaching of Marxism. This is a line of demarcation against revisionism, which tries to adapt the democracy of the proletariat to capitalism, to subordinate it to it, to save and restore bourgeois democracy in order to turn it against the world proletariat.**

**And to establish the democracy of the world proletariat, it must achieve victory in the world socialist revolution. To support and advance this is and can only be the purpose of the internationalist foreign policy of a Marxist-Leninist state. If the main danger came from the Anglo-American imperialists, the Cominform should have led the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution precisely in these countries. This would have been not only a great act of proletarian internationalism, but also a duty towards the world proletariat, and Shdanov should have supported this revolutionary struggle of the working class in the USA and England with all his strength, but he was silent about this. Instead, Shdanov propagated being content with the "realisation of democratic principles" in America and England, i.e., the main arsonists of the war, the anti-communist world centre (!!), instead of fighting for their overthrow under the victorious banner of communism (of course, not without exploiting the struggle for proletarian democracy - lest we be misunderstood here and placed in the sectarian dogmatic corner !).**

**People's democracy as a special form of the dictatorship of the proletariat ?**

**Is people's democracy really identical in essence with the dictatorship of the proletariat ? We do not share this opinion for the following reasons:**

**The Cominform is based on the principle of people's democracy and not on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The social-fascist degeneration of the people's democracies in Eastern Europe shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be achieved by armed socialist revolution, as in Albania !**

**While Shdanov at the 1st Conference of the Cominform in his report on the international situation still correctly spoke of the People's Democracies "developing towards socialism", the revisionist Suslov at the 3rd Conference of the Cominform no longer speaks of socialism.**

**What is the revisionist conception of people's democracy?**

**The revisionist conception of people's democracies consists in defining them as a final goal, that is, in dropping their necessary further development as a transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.**



**The criticism of the Comintern (SH) against the modern revisionists is therefore not limited to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but necessarily includes the obstruction and eventual prevention of the construction of socialism in the countries of the People's Democracies. The modern revisionists already turned out to be traitors to Marxism-Leninism in the Cominform. The Cominform thesis of the "imperialist and democratic world camp" was nothing other than the restoration of the old Dimitroffian popular front thesis, only that this thesis was no longer used against German but henceforth against American imperialism.**

**All these political stands fighting for socialism in favour of class collaboration were included in the final Cominform resolution on "The defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers". As the other resolution on "Working Class Unity and the Tasks of Communists and Workers' Parties", this was unanimously approved on the basis of Togliatti's report on the subject: similar revisionist and right-wing things that "peace, bread and" demand democratic liberties "! "The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the power of murderers and spies".**

**Stalin:**

**"It would be foolish to suppose that international capital will leave us alone. No, comrades, it is not like that. Classes exist, international capital exists, and it cannot sit back and watch the development of the country that is building socialism. In the past, international capital believed that it could overthrow Soviet power through direct military intervention. The attempt failed. Today it is striving, and will continue to strive, to weaken our economic power by an invisible, not always noticeable, but quite lasting economic intervention, organising pest labour, preparing all kinds of "crises" in this or that branch of industry, and thereby facilitating the possibility of future military intervention. Here everything is tied into a knot, the knot of the class struggle of international capital against Soviet power, and there can be no question of any coincidences at all. One of the two:**

**Either we shall continue to pursue a revolutionary policy and rally the proletarians and oppressed of all countries around the working class of the Soviet Union - and then international capital will seek by all means to disturb us in our advance; or we shall renounce our revolutionary policy, make a series of concessions in principle to international capital - and then international capital will probably not be averse to "helping" us in the transformation of our socialist country into a "good" bourgeois republic. (Stalin, Vol. 11, pp. 48-49)**

**This lesson of Stalin's was later taken to heart and successfully implemented in the world socialist camp only by the Albanians.**

**Enver Hoxha criticised the so-called "democratic" road to socialism". The modern revisionists trampled on the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the necessity of violent revolution and denied the revolutionary class content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In accordance with this "democratic road to socialism", there is also no propagation of armed socialist revolution, let alone world revolution, in the organ of the Kominform. The organ of the Cominform did not show the proletariat and the peoples of the world that the road to victory over imperialism and capitalism cannot be achieved by the "democratic" road, but by the violent revolution.**

## **The Cominform and the national question.**

**Struggle against the revisionist "*specific-national road to socialism*".**

**At the Cominform conferences, the revisionist thesis of renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country was put forward on the grounds of the very existence of the Soviet Union.**

**The dissolution of the Comintern and the associated diversions to world socialist revolution were undoubtedly linked to the Second World War, into which the Soviet Union was drawn. This was the "Great Patriotic War". This designation clearly expresses that Soviet patriotism in defence of the first socialist state in the world was of great importance for the victory of Stalin's Soviet Union over Hitler's fascism. Since Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union still played the decisive role for the world communist movement, it concentrated on its main task, namely, to mobilise all forces in the worldwide struggle against Hitler's fascism, which was waging war against the Soviet Union in order to wipe out this "hotbed" of world communism and to annex the vast territory of the Soviet Union by force.**

On the fertile soil of the national liberation movement against Hitler's fascism, modern revisionism flourished with its ideology of the so-called "national road to socialism", especially in the people's democracies that were under the protection of the Soviet Union. Bourgeois nationalism gained influence after the end of the war, of which Yugoslavia is the most striking example. Undoubtedly, this influence did not begin during the Second World War or at the time of the Cominform. This nationalist influence already began with the dissolution of the Comintern, which also left the individual sections, the communist parties, to their own fate, which made it easier for the inner-party enemies to strengthen their revisionist influence in them. Thus the hitherto close connection between the communist parties and the CPSU (B) was not dissolved, but it was severed to a considerable extent, which was to continue through the Second World War and then proved to be an intolerable stumbling block after the Second World War, prompting Stalin to found the Cominform. This was bitterly necessary because the national road to socialism had also cleared the way for the dissolution of the communist party of a new type by means of unification with the social democratic party. With the resolution of the Cominform in 1948, which was mainly due to Stalin, a stop was put to the so-called "national road to socialism", which in essence was nothing other than the road of bourgeois socialism, i.e. the road of capitalism, and thus turning away from the Soviet Union. With this albeit heavy blow of the Cominform, however, the revisionist ideology of the "national road to socialism" was far from being eliminated. Some modern revisionists were arrested and sentenced to death, but most of them feigned "self-criticism" in order to hide their true intentions, namely to continue their "national road to socialism" secretly as long as Stalin was still alive.

As a hostile ideology to proletarian internationalism, nationalism fomented national discord among the people's democracies, especially against Stalin's Soviet Union, with the slogan of no longer being "patronised" by Stalin and instead choosing their own way - "as far as possible out of reach of Stalin's long arm" - which found its sharpest expression in Tito's bloc formation against Stalinism. In accordance with the aspirations of the modern revisionists, the building of socialism was to be confined to the individual people's democracy and the joint building of socialism under the leadership of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union was to be shunned. With this divisive nationalist line, the road to socialist internationalism was to be stopped and blocked. This hostile isolationist course was a serious crime against the Soviet Union, which had done everything for the building of socialism in the countries of the People's Democracy, although it itself suffered most from the great losses caused by the war. The theory of the "national road to socialism" was justified by the principle of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions in the various countries of the People's Democracy. But theory and practice were already diverging at the time of the Cominform, the mutual trust of the people's democracies was violated, and especially the trust in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union.

**As for Tito's anti-Marxist-Leninist conception of the national question, Stalin had already criticised in the Comintern in June 1925 the wrong position of the Yugoslav Semich in the Yugoslav Commission, namely that one must not separate the national question from the question of revolution, whereby one must not equate the bourgeois-democratic revolution (before the October Revolution) with the socialist revolution (after the October Revolution) (see: Stalin, Vol. 7, pp. 186 – 195)**

**Earlier, in his speech to the Yugoslav Commission of the ECCI on 30 March 1925, Stalin also took a stand on the national question in Yugoslavia ( Stalin, Works Vol. 7, pp. 59 - 65). In it Stalin stated the principle,**

**"that without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the revolution, the national question cannot be solved even somewhat satisfactorily. So right to secession for those nationalities which will want to secede, and right to autonomy for those nationalities which will prefer to remain within the framework of the Yugoslav state."**

**After all the sorrowful events in Yugoslavia, it is more than obvious that Tito has always trampled on the principle established by Stalin from beginning to end.**

**Let us see what Shdanov assigned as a "special task" to the brother communist parties of France, Italy, England and the other countries:**

**"They must hold high the banner of defending the national independence and sovereignty of their countries [bourgeois, imperialist countries, mind you - editor's note] (...), then no plan for the enslavement of Europe will be able to be realised" (Shdanov, ibid, from: "Daily Review", 24 October 1947).**

**Fight for the national independence and sovereignty of the imperialists in order to free the world from the enslavement of imperialism ???? Very well ! The USA, the main enemy No. 1, where the Communist Party, where the working class had been given a particularly important task, Shdanov "strangely enough" does not mention at all. And why not ? Because the class struggle in the USA did not exist for him at all, because he had completely disregarded the importance of the main revolutionary driving force of the world proletariat in his "world politics" and replaced it instead with geopolitical points of view which determined his "world politics". And it was precisely on this that Mao's "Three Worlds Theory" was particularly based. And indeed, the slogan of liberating imperialist countries from the "enslavement" of the imperialist superpower USA, corresponds exactly to the revisionist world theory of uniting the 2nd with the 3rd world against the 1st world. The Leninist-Stalinist line of the world proletariat overthrowing world imperialism in alliance with the poor peasants in the world socialist revolution - has never been represented by the Cominform from beginning to end. This is a fact that is confirmed in every Cominform document.**

**Those who, like Shdanov and Mao, deny the class struggle as the basis and starting point for the theory of world politics, are practising class conciliation. With class reconciliation, however, neither Shdanov's "democratic world camp" nor Mao's "Third World camp" could lead to democracy, let alone socialism. Both "theories" distract from the main task of social liberation through socialist revolution, as Enver Hoxha pointed out:**

**"We are (...) against those revisionist theorists who preach that the whole revolutionary struggle must now be reduced to the struggle for national independence in order to win it and protect it from the aggression of the imperialist powers, thus denying the struggle for social liberation. The victory of this struggle alone also secures complete and true national freedom, independence and sovereignty" (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and Revolution, page 318).**

**We see today where this "realisation of democratic principles", where the "defence of national independence and sovereignty" (mind you, in the countries of the main imperialist belligerents !!!! - not in the countries oppressed by imperialism) has led to - namely to the very enslavement of Europe which it was supposed to prevent !!! What has been realised is capitalist world enslavement, imperialist war and world fascism. Is this fact today not proof enough that one cannot bring world imperialism to its knees with Shdanov's Cominform tactics and that the proletariat cannot free itself from capitalist slavery with them at all ? If the proletariat is called upon to "defend national independence" and "sovereignty" in the countries of the war arsonists, then this is basically a betrayal of the revolutionary interests of the world proletariat, of the interests of the peoples oppressed by world imperialism. International of Lenin and Stalin.**

**Suslov at the 3rd Conference of the Cominform:**

**Instead of holding high the banner of revolution and socialism in the capitalist countries, he demands:**

**"The communist and workers' parties must hold high the banner of protecting the national independence and sovereignty of their countries."**

**In contrast, Stalin teaches:**

**"The Party assumes that the 'national' and the international tasks of the proletariat of the USSR merge with the common task of liberating the proletarians of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of building socialism in our country merge fully with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries into one common interest - victory of the socialist revolution in all countries. The proletarian revolution in one country is not an end in itself, but a means and an aid for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries." ( Stalin, Vol. 9, page 24)**

**Should not this have been the guiding principle of the Cominform as a matter of course ?**

**However, the Cominform had never wanted to tread this Stalinist internationalist path of revolution and in fact never did. The Cominform kept the people's democracies in the world socialist camps away from the goal of world socialist revolution.**

**And let us remember Trotsky. For him, socialist construction within the "national" framework of a state was impossible. Lenin and Stalin proved exactly the opposite in theory and practice. But with the new world socialist camp, it became possible for the first time to build socialism beyond the national framework, that is, in the international framework. And to make this very innovation "impossible", the Trotskyists dug up the "specific road" detached from and opposed to Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and extolled, for example, the Titoist "road to socialism" as a "road for all". This served the Trotskyists for the purpose of splitting and smashing Stalin's world socialist camp: "Better a specific bourgeois road to socialism than Stalin's internationalist road."**

**And what did Tito say ? (quoted from Savo Kerzovic, Dragan Markovic, "What is the Cominform Bureau?" Prishtina 1977, page 207) :**

**"We also had to free ourselves to the last from the Stalinist recipes, from the doctrine of socialism, the revolution - the state and the party, to all areas of creation".**

**What Tito had to do instead was clear: replace Marxist-Leninist principles with a specific "national Yugoslav Marxism", an eclectic anti-Marxist doctrine that suited his hegemonic and counterrevolutionary aims.**

**At the 5th Party Congress of the CPJ in 1948, Tito, under the slogan of the "creative application" of Marxism and the "revision of the works of the classics", cleared the way for bourgeois ideology in the form of a "specific", "independent socialism", and so on.**

**And finally, who all went Tito's "superior" Yugoslav way with the dissolution of the Cominform ? It was not only Khrushchev and Mao, but all the others - including all !!) delegates of the Cominform. Khrushchev did not even use the word "world socialist camp" during his visit to Tito.**

**In his pamphlet**

**"The Yugoslav Self-Government"**

**Enver Hoxha exposes the revisionist "theory" of the specific road to socialism:**



**"As anti-Marxists, the Yugoslav Titoists were and are not in favour of building socialism, but of perpetuating capitalism in various forms. They misuse and distort the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis on the creative application of the ideology of the working class in the particular conditions of each country when they insist that for the construction of socialism there are no universally valid laws for all countries, but rather that each country can build a 'socialism' different from the others according to its own desire and in its own way. Now, socialist construction must necessarily take into account the concrete conditions of each country, but socialism can be built in every country without exception only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the laws and principles common to all countries, which cannot be circumvented. Without a theory of scientific socialism one cannot build a specific socialism." ( page 90)**

## **The Cominform in the struggle against Tito's "Balkan Federation"**

**The Balkan Federation was a form of bloc formation of states within the world socialist camp for the purpose of their incorporation by the world imperialist camp, for the smashing of the world socialist camp and its leadership by Lenin and Stalin's Soviet Union.**

**Tito's plan was to annex the whole Balkans, to ruthlessly exploit and oppress it as his colony. This plan of forming a Titoist-capitalist bloc of states outside the world socialist camp of the Soviet Union was forged and pushed by the Anglo-American imperialists in order to stop the advance of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union. Stalin successfully derailed these plans, striking Tito and also Dimitroff on the head, who had played a decisive role in the formation of the Balkan federation, not for disinterested socialist reasons, but for Bulgarian nationalist-capitalist reasons.**

**[see:**

**a)**

**from a conversation of the meeting with Tito in the Kremlin on 27 May 1946 : Stalin: "Do you speak in favour of a federation with Bulgaria at the present moment? "Tito: "No. Not at this moment. Many things are still unresolved in Bulgaria - [according to the minutes of the CPJ delegation].**

**b)**

**Stalin's article in Pravda of 28 January 1948;**

**c)**

**"Self-criticism" of Dimitroff at the Party Congress of the Patriotic Front, on 2 February 1948; ]**

## **ENVER HOXHA:**

**"All Tito's words and oaths were a bluff: he lied and deceived us about the truth of the idea of the 'Balkan Federation'. Tito, as facts and time have proved, was a vicious anti-Marxist, a nationalist, a chauvinist and an agent of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, he was a 'Trojan horse' in the camp of socialism, in the international communist movement and even more so in the Balkans. Taking up the idea of the 'Balkan Federation', he fought for the goal of annexing the whole Balkans to Yugoslavia, and within this framework, Albania as well.**

**Stalin, who had smelled Tito's expansionist plans, drew Dimitroff's attention to this, and Dimitroff publicly declared in early 1948 that he had thought wrongly about the federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria." (Enver Hoxha, "The Titoists", pages 319 and 320)**

**"We do not interfere in each other's internal affairs, but if, as a result of the waning of the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, it comes to the point that in a friendly country like Bulgaria a Balkan map is printed showing Albania within the Yugoslav borders, then we cannot be quiet."**

**"Can one indulge the Bulgarian comrades when, without consulting the Albanian government, with which they are bound by a defence pact, they propose to the Greek government a pact of friendship and non-aggression, at a time when Greece is still in a state of war with Albania and is making territorial claims against our fatherland? It seems to us very dangerous to take such actions unilaterally."**

**(Enver Hoxha (16 November 1960)**

**It is essential to emphasise that Stalin had forced Dimitroff to "self-criticism" at the secret meeting with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in Moscow on 10 February 1948. It was only afterwards that Dimitroff publicly practised "self-criticism". One reads Stalin on this:**

**"Against the Vulgarisation of the Slogan of Self-Criticism", Stalin, Vol. 11 pp. 113- 122 and pp. 26 - 35).**

**We are of the opinion that Dimitroff's "self-criticism" was hypocrisy.**

**Even if Dimitroff was not the main culprit in the anti-Stalin Balkan Federation, we cannot absolve him of his complicity. We consider Stalin's criticism of Dimitroff to be correct. Therefore, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists can defend comrade Stalin only if we defend Stalin's criticism of Dimitroff. The neo-revisionists have committed treason against Stalin by defending Dimitroff. Dimitroff was a collaborator of Titoism in word and deed. He used centrism, the reconciliation of Titoism with Stalinism, feigned self-criticism, swore loyalty only AFTER he had been criticised by Stalin, only to save his own head by doing so. But Dimitroff's role in the Comintern and Dimitroff's role in the Balkan Federation, these are not the only roles Dimitroff played as a pioneer of modern revisionism. He had also betrayed the working class of Bulgaria by setting the course there for the takeover of power by the modern revisionists. Stalinism in words, revisionism in deeds - this is the physiognomy of Dimitroff's betrayal.**

**On 10 February 1948, at Stalin's invitation, a secret meeting took place in Moscow between the delegations of the Soviet Union (Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Zhdanov, Suslov and Sorin), Yugoslavia (Djilas , Kardelj and Vacaric) and Bulgaria Dimitroff, Kostoff and Kolaroff). ] Stalin condemned Tito's criminal plans. At this meeting, Stalin also contradicted Dimitroff's arguments on all points and criticised him in all severity of form.**

**The dialogue between Stalin and Dimitroff could have gone something like this:**

**Stalin: "You did not inform us about the announcement of the Balkan Federation. We only read about it in the newspapers. You did not think beforehand about the political consequences of such statements !" Dimitroff's "self-criticism": "Yes, that was harmful and fundamentally wrong. I will not repeat such statements in the future." Stalin retorts: "You are not a pre-school child, but an old politician. Your self-criticism is not about not having informed the Soviet Union. Such a Balkan federation is mercilessly used by the imperialists against us for their own advantage, that is the point." Dimitroff: "Yes, I admit I was wrong, but one learns from mistakes." Stalin then: "This is not about a mistake, but about your wrong policy. You've been a politician for 50 years and now you start trying to correct your mistakes?" Dimitroff blushes, admits defeat and is devastated .... (imaginable scene as it might have happened - by W. E.) .**

**After Stalin's death, the idea of the Balkan federation later gave rise to the Titoist union of "non-aligned countries". For the two superpowers this was to their mutual advantage - a certain buffer zone of their spheres of influence. And Tito could earn a few extra dollars and roubles with the "non-aligned zone". For the world communist movement, this meant weakening by splitting unity, by disintegrating the world socialist camp, by isolating Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and restoring capitalism.**

**The Titoist line of the Balkan Federation and later line of the "non-aligned countries" was a counter-revolutionary act, directed against the world revolution and world socialism in general and against the beacon of socialism - Albania - in particular.**

**The expression of Yugoslav expansionism was Tito's plan to annex Albania as the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. Republic of Yugoslavia - not through military occupation, but as an alleged Yugoslav "protective power" against the invasion of Albania by the Greek monarcho-fascists, through "diplomacy" (=bartering away Albania) in the international arena (secret treaty between Tito and the Greek monarcho-fascists for the dismemberment of Albania at the Paris Peace Conference in August 1946) as well as through several coup attempts within the KPA by means of Yugoslav agent activity on Albanian territory. The Yugoslav annexationists were not defending Albania as a sovereign state, but as a territory of the Yugoslav "Greater State" - "defending" Albania de jure in order to swallow up Albania de facto. "Opponents" of annexationism in words and annexationists in deeds, this was the Yugoslav revisionists' chauvinist betrayal of Stalin's principled teaching on the national question and a crime against the Albanian people. Stalin and Enver Hoxha put a spoke in Tito's wheel.**

**While Tito hypocritically practised "self-criticism" at the secret meeting with Stalin on 10 February 1948, he simultaneously committed genocide in Kosova. In words, Tito was for the reunification of all Albanians in one state, but he did not even allow Enver Hoxha to visit his Albanian compatriots in Kosova, let alone allow the Albanian communists of Kosova to visit comrade Enver Hoxha's KPA. Instead, they were sent to Yugoslav internment camps. To depopulate Kosova, the Titoists forced hundreds of thousands of Albanians to emigrate to Turkey and elsewhere. So this is what Tito's Balkan Federation really looked like.**

**Tito's seizure of Macedonia and Tito's conquest of Istria and the cities of Zadar and Rijeka should also be mentioned. With this provocation, Tito not only violated the agreements between Stalin and the Western Allies, but also endangered world peace. Immediately after 1945, the continuation of the war against Hitler through a war against the USA would have had serious consequences for the Soviet Union, for the world socialist camp and for the entire world communist movement.**

**Tito also claimed Hungarian territories on the Croatian-Serbian border (for example, the town of Pecs) - ostensibly "for the protection of the Hungarian people." [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPY].**

**Tito's Yugoslav expansionism did not stop at Greece. At a meeting between Stalin and Tito on 27 May 1946, Molotov is reported to have said: "Yes, Saloniki is an ancient Slavic state. You need access to the Aegean Sea." [!] [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPY].**

**Tito was not disinterested as an abettor of the British and American imperialists in Greece. Collaboration with the Greek monarcho-fascists fitted into his expansionist plans (counterrevolutionary Athens-Belgrade-Rome axis of Anglo-American imperialism). Stalin, on the other hand, was opposed - in the immediate post-war conditions - to interference in the internal affairs of the Greek people by expansionist power interests from outside. Stalin was at first firmly convinced of victory in the Greek civil war. He sided with the anti-monarcho-fascist struggle, with the struggle against the Greek financial sharks who were selling Greece to the capitalist foreign countries. But Stalin was honest enough to admit that it was quite possible that the forces might not be sufficient for victory and that the guerrilla war in Greece should therefore be broken off and continued one day under better conditions. Stalin demanded the unconditional withdrawal of British and American troops from Greece.**

**With his peace policy, Stalin fought against all provocateurs of a new world war - including Tito's provocations. On 27 May 1946, Stalin is reported to have said to Tito: "If the Slavs do not want to suffer another 10 million victims, then the Slavs must unite in a single front with the Soviet Union." [according to the minutes of Blagoe Neshkovich, then leader in the CPY]**

**In 1947, the Soviet Union was still united behind Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It was only a year later that there was an open break with Tito, and Bulgaria's cooperation with Tito was stopped and the military-expansionist attacks on Albania by the imperialist-revisionist alliance, which included the Italian neo-fascists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav and Bulgarian revisionists, were repulsed by Stalin. Stalin is accused of having bargained with Churchill for Greece (the so-called "percentage agreement"). We cite the following quotation from Stalin to refute this accusation:**

**"England, for example, demands that we join her in establishing spheres of influence somewhere, say in Persia, in Afghanistan or in Turkey, for the purpose of robbery, affirming her willingness to make 'friendship' with us if we agree to these concessions. But precisely because we cannot agree to these and similar concessions without giving ourselves up - precisely for this reason we must be prepared for international capital to continue to commit all kinds of meanness against us in the future." (Stalin, Works Vol. 11, pp. 49 and 50)**

**Breaking their word, the Western Allies violated the agreement with the Soviet Union to conclude peace treaties after the end of the war in all countries involved in the hostilities of the Second World War and then to withdraw all occupation troops.**

**Kostov at the 2nd Conference of the Cominform:**

**"The party made the following mistakes: underestimating the class struggle, illusions about the peaceful possibility of waging this struggle in the conditions of today's Bulgaria, failure to have a clear idea of the path and pace of development, to speak of the harmonious unification of the state, of private sectors in the economy, and so on. But all these mistakes were corrected in time, often thanks to consultation with the CPSU (B) and Comrade Stalin personally."**

**Chervenkoff criticised Kostoff a year later, who was now made the scapegoat for former Bulgarian attempts, together with Tito, to wrest the country from the socialist camp and prevent the Stalinist road to socialism in Bulgaria.**

**Kostoff was to be executed in December, while Dimitroff was said to have inexplicably "died of illness" in July. It was also widely known that they had coordinated Bulgarian policy towards the USSR and Yugoslavia during the 1940s. According to Chervenkoff, Bulgaria had been able to strengthen its socialist foundations and fight nationalist deviations thanks to the Soviet Communist Party and Stalin, who is described as the "direct teacher and leader" of the Bulgarian people. Not even a single reference to the person of Dimitroff is to be found in the whole of Chervenkoff's report. That is strange.**

**And in V. POPTOMOV's report, too, Dimitroff is not mentioned with a syllable in connection with Tito's Balkan Federation and is thus tacitly taken in defence. There was never any Marxist-Leninist criticism of Dimitroff in the Cominform, not even on the part of the Soviet delegates.**

**In the reports of the Bulgarian delegation to the Cominform, Dimitroff was completely spared. Instead, only Tito was pilloried. It is clear that the Comintern (SH) cannot justify this unprincipled attitude towards the Cominform. It is clear that behind the concealment of Dimitroff's anti-Stalinist path on the question of the Balkan Federation was the justification of the liquidation of the Comintern, which would not have existed in this way without Dimitroff.**

**Already at the party congress in Berat, November 1944, the Tito group Kochi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo tried to subjugate Albania to Yugoslavia and incorporate it into the Balkan Federation under Tito's leadership. That the Albanians heroically resisted their Yugoslav enslavement, we recall the Albanian uprising in Kosova in 1981. It was also Dimitroff's Popular Front policy that Tito tried to liquidate the Communist Party of Albania. Of course, today's defenders of Dimitroff do not want to know anything about this and keep quiet about these criminal plans against comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian people...**



## **The Cominform in the struggle against Titoism**

### **What is Titoism ?**

**In general, Titoism is the most advanced post of the anti-communist bulwark of world imperialism, a variant of the ideology of modern revisionism against Stalinism for the purpose of isolating and weakening Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union, breaking individual links out of the world socialist camp with the aim of its complete destruction; and in particular, Titoism is the revisionist ideology of the nationalist bourgeoisification of people's democracy, its adaptation to capitalism for the purpose of assimilation by the world imperialist camp. Titoism denies the international significance of the October Revolution and rejects the universal lessons of the October Revolution (not only for Yugoslavia) in order to drag the world communist movement instead on a path of Yugoslav "revolution" different from the October Revolution. Titoism poses as a "creative further development" of Marxism-Leninism, but is in fact an ideology of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism (definition of the Comintern [SH])**

**Stalin wrote in his letter of 27 MARCH 1948:**

**"Furthermore, it must be said that the Yugoslav state police are also monitoring the CPSU representative to the Cominform, Comrade Yudin.**

**As you know, anti-Soviet rumours are doing the rounds among the Yugoslav leaders: the CPSU is degenerating, great power chauvinism reigns in the USSR, the USSR wants to subjugate the new Yugoslavia economically, the Cominform is a means for the CPSU to bring the other parties under its rule, etc. ... These anti-Soviet statements are usually hidden under Leftist phrases such as, "Socialism has ceased to be revolutionary in the USSR," or "Only Yugoslavia is the true bearer of revolutionary socialism."**

**Stalin wrote in his letter of 4 May 1948:**

**"As it seems, the Yugoslav leaders intend to insist in the future on their anti-Soviet attitude; but the Yugoslav comrades should know even now that this is treading a path leading to the renunciation of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, a path of betrayal of friendship with the Soviet Union, of betrayal of the Socialist United Front, of the USSR and the People's Democracies.**

**It must be emphasised that the Yugoslav comrades who come to Moscow or otherwise to our country can freely visit the cities of the USSR and meet with our citizens. On the occasion of his last trip to the Soviet Union, comrade Djilas went to Leningrad for a few days after a stay in Moscow to talk with Soviet comrades there. We did not ask Djilas to give us an account of his meetings with the Leningrad organisations. We assume that he did not gather information there for the Anglo-American or French intelligence services, but for the leading organs of Yugoslavia.**

**Shdanov died on 31 August 1948, i.e. shortly after the 2nd Kominform Conference in Romania in June 1948.**

**Shdanov is no longer present at the 3rd Kominform Conference.**

**Stalin wrote in his letter of 22 May 1948:**

**"Comrades Tito and Kardelj have often made promises to the CC of the CPSU without keeping them. Comrades Tito and Kardelj declare that the CC of the CPY refrains from appearing at the meeting of the Information Bureau and refuses to present the question of the situation within the CPY before this Bureau. If this is their final decision, it means that they have nothing to testify before the Information Bureau, that they realise their guilt and are afraid to appear before the brother parties. What is more, the refusal to appear before the Information Bureau means that the CC of the CPY is treading a path leading to disengagement from the united international front of the people's democracies and the USSR, and that it is now preparing its party and the Yugoslav people for betrayal of this united front. Since the Information Bureau is the basis of the united international front, this policy leads to the betrayal of the international solidarity work of the working class and forms the transition to an attitude of nationalism. It is a hostile act towards the working class.**

**Regardless of whether or not the representatives of the CC of the CPY will attend the next meeting of the Bureau of Information, the CC of the CPSU insists that at the next meeting of the Bureau of Information the situation within the CPY will be examined.**

**The CC of the CPSU agrees with the proposal of the Czech and Hungarian comrades that the Information Bureau should meet in the second half of June."**

**The criticism of the Cominform against the CPY was presented at the 2nd Cominform Conference by the representatives of the French and Italian Communist Parties, while conversely the criticism of the Cominform against the CP of France and Italy had been presented at the first Cominform Conference by the representatives of the CPY. (!)**

**a) Criticism of the Yugoslav policy of hostility towards the socialist Soviet Union. Questioning the leading role of the Soviet Union in the world communist movement. Equating the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of the imperialist powers. "Degeneration" of the CPSU taken from the armoury of Trotskyism. The "capitalist states pose less of a threat to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union ".**

**b) Criticism of the hegemony of the Yugoslav peasantry over the working class. Criticism of the denial of the Leninist-Stalinist thesis that the class struggle becomes sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Bukharin's theory of the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism.**

**c) Criticism of the fact that in Yugoslavia it is the Popular Front and not the Communist Party that plays the leading role, which ultimately amounts to the liquidation of the CP. Subordination of the communist party in the revisionist Popular Front and eventual liquidation of the communist party in the Popular Front.**

**[- in this direction the neo-revisionists today are also fighting against the Comintern (SH), in that the neo-revisionists are openly defending against us the popular front policy of Dimitroff]. (\*)**

---

**(\*) On this, an important note from the Comintern (SH):**

**What do we learn for ourselves from this criticism (c) ?**

**We learn from it that the Comintern (SH) must always retain the undisputed leading role in the world Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement. If a "Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement" should develop outside the Comintern (SH), or if it occurs to a single section to want to build its "own" "Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement" , i.e. alongside, without or even against the Comintern (SH), then this means the liquidation of the Comintern (SH) . Then it also means the liquidation of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement, which can neither exist nor will exist without the leadership of the Comintern (SH).**

**In addition to this titoist method of liquidation of the Comintern (SH) [= method of decentralisation of the movement by pushing back and finally eliminating the determining influence of the centre], there is of course also the classical method of the revisionists, namely not to doubt the necessity of the Comintern (SH) in words, but in deeds to transform the Comintern (SH) into a revisionist world party in order to steer the world socialist revolution into the fairway of the bourgeoisie. (= method of smashing the movement through a revisionist change of leadership in the Comintern (SH)]. Both also amount to the same thing: elimination of the leadership of the world proletariat.**

**Which of the two methods is more dangerous ? The more dangerous method is always the one that is not fought consistently enough.**

**d) Criticism of the Yugoslav Communist Party to leave the Cominform and to ignore the criticism of the Cominform.**

**e) Collaboration of the Yugoslav leadership with the imperialist world camp.**

**Pravda, 18-19 October 1947 (!) , dedicated on the occasion of the first issue of: "For a lasting peace, For a people's democracy in Belgrade", we read under the signature of M. Maritime: "The report of Edouard Kardelj presents a truly grandiose diagram, of the very significant historical reforms accomplished in Yugoslavia in recent years. " The author then goes on to fully endorse Kardelj's report on Yugoslavia and Kardelj's conclusion:**

**"Yugoslavia is no longer a capitalist country, nor is it a country with a dominant capitalist sector. But it is a typical country realising the transition from capitalism to socialism, a country where a socialist economy rules, as a result of the struggle of the working class and all toilers."**

**(!)**

**The question arises why the first conference of the Cominform was so friendly with Yugoslavia (for example, agreement with Yugoslavia's criticism of the CPs in France and Italy) and only one [!] year later Yugoslavia was excluded.**

**All of a sudden everyone is hypocritical about their "solidarity" with the Soviet Union against Tito. Yet they applauded Tito at their 7th World Congress, Tito collaborated with them in the liquidation of the Comintern ! Surely, these are the facts that one must not talk around!**

**The regimes of people's democracy could emerge, remain and develop only thanks to the support of the USSR. [revisionist! Lenin propagated the dictatorship of the proletariat - this is also the Stalinist definition of Leninism in the epoch of imperialism - The People's Republic of Albania continued to develop on its own after the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists] The physiognomy of the revisionist line in the Cominform can be illustrated by the example of Yugoslavia: Yugoslavia is removed from the Cominform not from the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist revolution, but because Yugoslavia did not place itself on the people's democracy according to Dimitroff's united front pattern with its revisionist thesis of the alleged "final" victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. One does not automatically arrive at socialism merely through the external existence of the Soviet Union. According to this liquidationist thesis, socialism would not be possible in any country without the Soviet Union. If a socialist country restores capitalism, one can still build socialism in one's own country. The Albanians have proved this for 40 years. Albania is the best proof of the untenability of the Kominform theses.**

**In the Cominform there were people who condemned Yugoslav revisionism in order to hide behind it revisionism in their own country.**

**It was common practice to summarily accuse the true Marxist-Leninists of "Trotskyism" when they made justified criticisms of revisionist errors and deviations. This was also the way the CP of Greece dealt with Enver Hoxha when he presented his critical opinion on the wrong line of the CP of Greece. (See 4. Enver Hoxha's meeting with Stalin).**

After his expulsion from the Cominform, Tito suppressed those who supported the Cominform. He insulted them as "Cominformists", as "enemies" of Yugoslavia, although Tito had still claimed to be the "most loyal" Cominformist in a letter to the Soviet Union on 13 April 1948, and because of this he should have been imprisoned and executed himself "on his own orders" only months later. From 1949 onwards, Tito dropped all masks and openly used the tools of the Trotskyists to insult and denigrate Stalin's Soviet Union. Tito had moved to openly attack Stalin's world socialist camp, to decompose it and turn it into a camp of Western imperialism. The first social-fascist Gestapo state in the world, the Titoist state, murdered thousands of communists in the Goli Otok concentration camp. Many Yugoslav communists were able to escape and fought from abroad to crush the fascist Tito regime. Thousands of Yugoslav miners refused to hand over the ore they mined to the imperialists and resisted exports to imperialist countries. The railway workers went on strike against the shipments. 50% of the workers stopped industrial production by sabotage, by leaving the workplace or by the resistance lung "works slowly". The Yugoslav peasants also sabotaged agricultural production and resisted enslavement by the Titoist kulakism. And it was comrade Enver Hoxha who propagated the only correct way out, the necessity of socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all revisionist countries.

### The Letters of Stalin to Tito – 1948



[in German language]

J. W. Stalin:

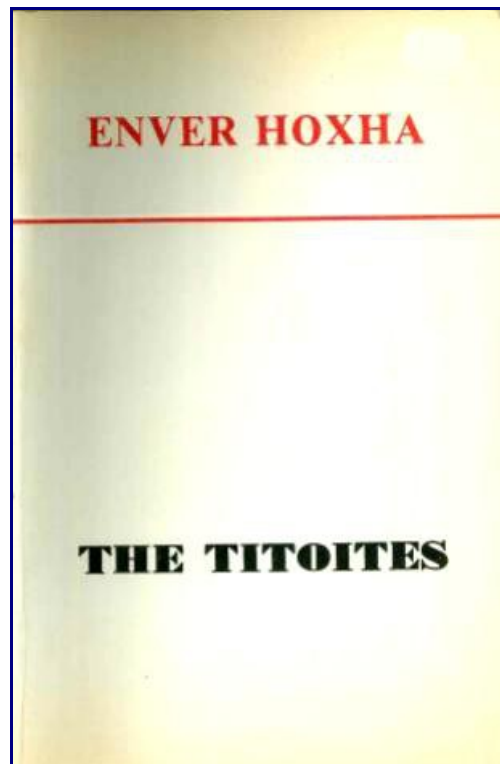
[3 Schreiben](#)

*des ZK der KPdSU an das ZK der KP Jugoslawiens*

27. März 1948

4. Mai 1948

22. Mai 1948



The Titoites

Excerpt from: Chapter 10

The struggle against Titoism - a historical necessity

1983



**From the Book of the Comintern (SH):**

**On the struggle against revisionism:**

**Excerpt: On the Struggle Against Yugoslav Revisionism**



**The Tito clique - an agency of the war arsonists**

**Kalinin**

**(From: 'Neue Welt', issue 19, October 1950, p. 54ff).**



**Yugoslavia in the grip of the fascist clique**

**(From: 'Neue Welt', issue 12, June 1950, pp. 52ff)**





## **On the Degeneration of the Leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia**

**1948 (Training booklet of the SED)**

**Note by the Comintern (SH):**

**This training booklet should be studied with a sufficiently critical eye. At that time, the SED did not dare to openly oppose Stalin and was forced to pretend to be halfway "loyal to Stalin". Because of a content correct in the main page, we have published this training booklet despite concerns about some existing deviations.**

**These documents from the first post-war years have not otherwise been published online anywhere - except by us.**



## **The Cominform and the Revisionist Degeneration of the Communist Parties in the Capitalist Countries**

**From the first conference of the Cominform we find for the first time the Soviet Union's criticism of the popular front policy of the Western parties, without mentioning the name of the originator of this revisionist line - Dimitroff, who advocated and implemented his popular front policy even in the world socialist camp, while at the same time feigning his loyalty to Stalin !**

**The "parliamentary road to socialism" deviates from Marxism-Leninism and is revisionist. Togliatti. Criticism of the Yugoslavs at the 1st Cominform meeting A major political content of the first conference of the Cominform was a strong criticism of the revisionism of the French and Italian communist parties.**

**The conference served largely as a platform from which powerful, scathing criticisms of opportunism, legalism, bourgeois parliamentarism and other such grievances with which the French and Italian communist parties were plagued emerged. This criticism came officially from Yugoslavia and not from the Soviet Union - Pravda had still praised Yugoslavia until just before the founding of the Cominform - in September 1947. This was an excellent tactic by Stalin to play off the revisionism of the CP of France and Italy against Yugoslav Titoism. First against the former (1st Conference of the Cominform in 1947), then against the latter (2nd Conference of the Comiform in 1948 - previously threaded through Stalin's letters to the CP of Yugoslavia).**

**Later, Togliatti criticised the Moscow Declaration because it still condemned Titoism. He demanded that the condemnation of Titoism be withdrawn ! (Togliatti, 10 January 1963, "Let us return the discussion to its true limits" [article in: "L'Unità"])**

**On the third day of the 1st Kominform Conference, the Yugoslav revisionists presented their criticism against the Italian and French Communist Parties. They said that the Italian and French model of people's democracy should not be initiated under the leadership of a bourgeois government. The Yugoslav delegates also criticised the opportunist slogan of the CP of Italy: "Neither London, nor Washington, nor Moscow." They said that the defeats suffered by the two Western parties were mainly the fault of their leaders with their political and ideological liberalism. The Yugoslav delegates stressed that after the war, certain communists thought (for example, the Browderists) that a peaceful, parliamentary period of abatement of the class struggle had dawned - that there was a corresponding deviation of opportunism, especially on the question of parliamentarism, both in the French and Italian parties, as well as in other parties.**

**This criticism is a Marxist-Leninist criticism, even if it was put forward by the Yugoslavs with the intention of arming themselves against accusations of their own revisionism! One must not try to invalidate the criticism of French and Italian revisionism by the fact that they were put forward by revisionist Yugoslavs who concealed their own revisionism behind them. One cannot side with one revisionist camp to fight another!!! This is nothing else than neo-revisionism, namely criticism of revisionism in words and defence of revisionism in deeds.**

**The transition of the CP of France to revisionism began at the 7th World Congress and finally came out openly only after the death of Stalin.**

**The 'Popular Front' in France formed on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1935) in Paris. In January 1936, the parties agreed to support each other and entered parliament. It was actually the bloc of a capitalist wing that gave itself an official name, the coalition thus formed, in January 1936 through the programme 'Rassemblement populaire' (Rally of the People). Blum ended the period of the Popular Front government with his resignation on 7 April 1938.**

**The leaders of the CP of France and Italy turned out to be traitors to the revolution and to socialism. Their sharp criticism against Titoism at the second conference of the Cominform does not change this. Behind their criticism of Titoism, they cleverly concealed their own revisionism. They only let their mask fall after Stalin's death and the Khrushchev revisionists came to power.**

**Enver Hoxha writes about France and Italy in his book "Eurocommunism is anti-communism" :**

**"In France and Italy, governments of the bourgeois type came to power. The participation of the communists in them did not change their character. Their propaganda and agitation, the demonstrations and strikes led by the CP of France were not in the line of wresting power from the bourgeoisie. (...) took the form of a struggle for reforms (...). It did not follow the Marxist-Leninist path. The French Communist Party failed (...) to transform the struggle for national liberation into a people's revolution, it evaded the struggle for the armed seizure of power. What should we call this conduct of the French Communist Party? Betrayal of the revolution.**

**"Whereas in Italy conditions were favourable for advancing the revolution (...) the party was in favour of a parliamentary solution within the legality of the bourgeois order. Its broadest aspiration was to participate in the government with two three ministers. In this way, the Italian Communist Party got caught up in the interplay of bourgeois politics and made one unprincipled concession after another. It voluntarily took up arms before the bourgeoisie. It abandoned the revolutionary road and took the parliamentary road, gradually transforming itself from a party of revolution into a bourgeois party of social reform of the working class."**

**It was mainly under the Trotskyist influence of the Titoists that the world socialist camp first split, and from this, after the death of Stalin, the world revisionist camp split. One faction pursued the path of separation from the Soviet revisionists, while the other faction continued to lick their boots. Mao also took advantage of this division by trying to harness the faction of separation from the Soviet revisionists to his cart. This also included the factions that had formed, especially in Western Europe, which included the Maoist parties on one side and the Eurocommunists on the other. As a result of this process of disintegration of the revisionist world camp, innumerable currents of revisionism emerged, which more openly or covertly falsified Marxism-Leninism, betrayed it and gradually replaced it with bourgeois ideology. And we point out again that this development of betrayal of the world revolution was already emerging in the Cominform.**

**Enver Hoxha writes aptly in: "Eurocommunism = anti-communism:**

**"These innumerable anti-Marxist currents developing in today's capitalist and revisionist world are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution."  
(page 93)**

## **The Cominform and the Revisionist Degeneration of the CPSU (B)**

**The Soviet revisionist Suslov openly propagated at the 3rd session of the Cominform (1949) the renunciation of the transition to communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. There was no more talk of socialism. (Enver Hoxha repeatedly exposed Suslov as a revisionist Soviet leader in his works).**

**The representatives of the Soviet Union in the Cominform fought Yugoslav revisionism not in the interests of the world proletariat, not in the interests of world proletarian revolution, not in the interests of creating the Stalinist world camp, but in their own interests. Their aim was to prevent the spread of revisionist kingdoms outside the Soviet Union in order to become a social-imperialist world power. The revisionists of the other countries were to be taken under the Soviet revisionist wing by means of pressure. The Soviet revisionists aimed to do this in particular by excluding Tito, using the cover of "Stalinism". The murder of Shdanov as head of the Cominform was carried out on behalf of the modern Soviet revisionists. It was then such modern revisionists as Suslov who took the helm in the Kominform. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists do not regard these events in the Kominform as a coincidence.**

**A fierce struggle was waged in the Soviet Union against the rise of modern revisionism. Thus, in 1948, the once renowned economist Varga was convicted of revisionism on the fundamental questions of economic construction in the People's Democratic countries.**

**But there were also fierce battles between the Leningrad revisionist faction and the Moscow revisionist faction, in the course of which, for example, Zhdanov and Vosnessensky, who had worked closely with Zhdanov, were killed. Vosnessensky wanted to make Leningrad the capital of the Soviet Union and had, for example, held revisionist views on economic planning in the USSR.**

**In May 1955, Nikita Khrushchev held official talks in Belgrade to seal the reconciliation between the CPSU and the CPY. (see Enver Hoxha):**

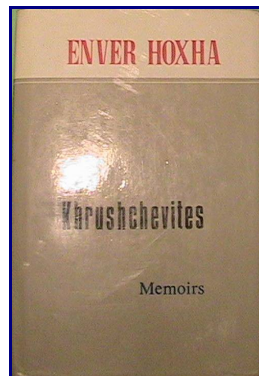
## Khrushchev's kneeling before Tito

13 September 1963



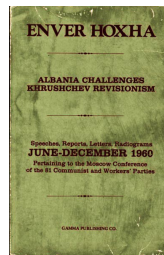
## Enver Hoxha on Soviet Revisionism

(Collection of Enver Hoxha's writings and documents from the PLA)



## THE KHRUSHCHEVITES





## Albania challenges Khrushchev revisionism

### Enver Hoxha, Volume 19



**The Soviet revisionist leaders swore stone and stone on their "loyalty" to proletarian internationalism, pledged their "help" to the revolutionary movements for the newly liberated countries and promised their "support" to the world communist movement after the war.**

**They use these oaths to disguise their expansionist and aggressive aims and to deceive the people. However, all their practical activity shows that the Soviet revisionists have long since jettisoned this great principle of the working class, just as they betrayed Marxist-Leninist doctrine.**

**In the time of the Cominform - until the death of comrade Stalin - the Soviet Union was the centre and base of the world revolution.**

**Today, the only revolutionary and internationalist is the one who fights not only Titoism but also the influence of the Soviet revisionists and the revisionist leaders of all other countries in the Cominform and exposes their treachery, which these traitors kept hidden there behind vows to Stalin.**

## **The Cominform and Maoism**

**As for Maoism, Stalin not only condemned Titoism but rightly called Mao a "half Titoist".**

**Even in the critical Chinese paper, "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist State?" (dated 26 September 1963 - from Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement), the Cominform resolution against Titoism (1948) is not defended, let alone even mentioned. In this paper: "Is Yugoslavia a socialist state?" one looks in vain for the historical letters of Stalin to Tito, in which Stalin rejected the accusations made by Tito against the Soviet Union and for the first time strongly condemned Titoism. The Chinese revisionists were not concerned with Stalin, but only with playing themselves up to the Soviet revisionists who had fallen on Tito's knees as the "true defenders" of Marxism-Leninism, in order to hide their own revisionism behind it. In truth, the Chinese revisionists have not only adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Soviet revisionism, but also towards Titoism, as documented in various Chinese writings. They have also admitted that while they half-heartedly agreed with the Cominform resolution, they actually condemned it. Thus the Chinese revisionists have adopted the same opportunist attitude towards the Cominform as all the other revisionists from the countries of the People's Democracy.**

**In words for the Cominform - in deeds against the Cominform - this is the physiognomy of the revisionist betrayal of the Cominform.**

**Judin, the same Soviet revisionist who was editor-in-chief of the Kominform organ, was later appointed by Khrushchev as ambassador to China between 1953 and 1959. Until January 1955, China had no diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. From Judin's diaries we learn some interesting facts about Mao's true negative attitude towards the Cominform:**

**"Mao said:**



**We did not refuse our support to the Cominform decision of 1948, but we did not agree with the Cominform resolution of 1949. It put us all in a passive situation and Tito still reminds us of that resolution today. Stalin should not have taken such a rude attitude towards Yugoslavia." ( April 19, 1958, quoting from Judin's diary) . Surely Stalin's struggle against Titoism is not a question that can be resolved by the method of diplomatic politeness! Who discredited the Soviet Union in the crudest, most infamous way ? It was Tito. And whoever comes to Tito's defence is already "half Tito". And that was Mao. That is how Stalin saw it, that is how Enver Hoxha saw it, and that is how the Comintern (SH) sees it.**

**In his Works Volume V, Mao writes:**

**"When we won the war, Stalin conjectured that this was a victory in the manner of**

**of Tito, and in 1949 and 1950 he put a lot of pressure on us." (Mao Zedong,**

**Selected Works, Vol. V, p.328 - French. Edition).**

**Mao adopts in essence the united front policy of Dimitroff and the popular front policy of Yugoslavia in founding the PRC. Mao, the world bourgeoisie and the whole revisionist world camp always talk about the "socialist revolution in China". Yet, when the PRC was founded in 1949, not once was the word "socialism" mentioned, let alone the word "socialist revolution".**

**In the view of the Comintern (SH), there can be no question of any "socialist revolution" either in China or in all other people's democracies. To make the bourgeois-democratic Chinese revolution out to be a "higher development of the October Revolution" is not only a mockery of the Chinese proletariat, not only a mockery of the October Revolution, but also a frontal attack on world Bolshevism and the world socialist revolution.**

**Compare Mao's line with the general line of the Comintern (SH). One line is thousands of light years away from the other line:**

**Mao quote:**

**"At present we must not push the bourgeoisie away from us, but unite them around us. (6 September 1950; "DON'T LOSE YOUR WAY TO ALL DIRECTIONS", Mao, Vol. V, pp. 31-34).**

**On the monument to the "Heroes of the People" there are many inscriptions which were designed by Mao Zedong. If you read these inscriptions, the heroes sacrificed themselves for anything but communism. This is what the Comintern (SH) calls mockery of the Chinese proletariat, mockery of the entire world proletariat, which has sacrificed its blood for the most precious thing in the world, namely communism.**

**Here we attach some quotes from Enver Hoxha in which he aptly expresses what he thought of Tito and Mao:**

**"Tito and Mao are of the same colour, though not red."**

**"If Mao Zedong assumes that Stalin made mistakes towards Tito, it means that he approves of the methods of 'self-management' of the Yugoslav economy, i.e., the methods of Titoist revisionist 'self-management' . Mao wants to progressively introduce this 'self-management' in China as well. He also does not fail to talk about the specifics. It is interesting what the Chinese say: they wanted to build a specific socialism. In this question, they meet with Tito, who has been prattling about building 'specific socialism' for a long time. Here it is not only a question of the term the Chinese use, but also of the content, of including in it the experience à la Tito." ("Reflections on China", December 1976, Vol. II, pp. 381-382, German edition).**

**"The Chinese are opposed to the line of our Party and our state. They have openly recommended that we enter into an alliance with Yugoslavia ( so said Chou En-lai to Beqir Balluku). In other words, they rehashed the old story, the Titoists' dream of making Albania the seventh republic of Yugoslavia. Every day, the Chinese newspapers carry news about Yugoslavia, defend its policies, openly praise Tito in effusive terms. Mao Zedong has not changed his view of Tito in the slightest since he said to me and Mehmet: 'Tito is not to blame, it is Stalin and the Comintern who are to blame'. But Stalin was and remains a great Marxist, Tito and Mao, on the other hand, are the same colour, but not red.**

**Let us suppose that Stalin 'was not vigilant' and 'did not take measures earlier'. But you, my Chinese comrades, who criticise Stalin, why did you not see through Khrushchev for 10-14 years, Tito for 18 years and the groups of Liu Shao-chi and Pengchen for at least 16 years? You had both the great revolutionary experience of Lenin and Stalin, and the bitter experience of Tito, Khrushchev, Gao Gang, Wang Ming, etc. (ENVER HOXHA)**

**Finally, we publish a lengthy extract from a recording of the conversation Mao had with the Yugoslav delegation in Peking ( September 1956):**

**"There were times when we dropped you. We had sought the opinion of the Information Bureau in the past. Although we did not participate directly in the work of the Cominform, it was difficult for us not to support it. In 1949, the Kominform condemned you as "butchers" and "Hitler fascists", but we kept quiet about the resolution on Yugoslavia, although we published articles criticising you in 1948. With hindsight, we should not have done that. We should have discussed this issue with you. If some of your positions were wrong, you could have come to a self-criticism and there was no need to rush into it, as we did. The same is true for us: if you disagreed with us, you should do the same, that is, by the method of persuasion and consultation. There have not been so many successful cases of criticising foreign parties in newspapers. Your case offers a profound historical lesson for the international communist movement. Although you suffered from the criticism, the international communist movement has learnt lessons from this mistake. The international communist movement must fully understand this mistake.**

**However, there was another factor that prevented us from replying to you: the Soviet friends did not want us to establish diplomatic relations with you. Although China is an independent state, we followed their instructions. When the Soviet Union asked us to follow it, it was difficult for us to resist. At that time there were some people [by "some people" Mao probably means Stalin - note] who claimed that there were two Titos in the world: one in Yugoslavia, and another in China, even though there were no publications that this second Tito would be called Mao Zedong. I once pointed out to the Soviet comrades that they suspected I was a half-hearted Tito, but they refuse to confirm it. When did they remove the label of half-hearted Tito from my forehead?**

**The Soviet Party can criticise Stalin on its own; but it would be inappropriate for us to criticise him. We should maintain a good relationship with the Soviet Union. Perhaps we could make our criticism public sometime in the future. It must be so in today's world, because facts are facts.**

**The Comintern made many mistakes in the past. Its first and last periods were not so bad, but the middle period [by which Mao meant Stalin's line, in which all the anti-Stalinists fell over the "third period" without Mao mentioning Stalin's name - note]. It was all right when Lenin was alive and when Dimitroff was in charge.**

**[In other words, the Comintern led by Stalin after Lenin and before Dimitroff was supposedly "out of order"-note].**

**That was the first time we expected the worst from Stalin.**

**Only after the dissolution of the Comintern did we begin to enjoy more freedom.**

**There are two kinds of Chinese: some are dogmatists who accept Stalin's line completely; others oppose dogmatism and therefore refuse to follow Stalin's orders. Moscow regarded me as a half-hearted Tito or half-Titoist.**

**Your suffering, inflicted by Stalin, is known to the people and to the whole world.**

**Khrushchev has now removed my label of "half-hearted Tito". Thus we rejoice that both labels have been removed, that of Tito and that of half Tito."**

**So much for Mao's conversation with the Yugoslav delegation, in which Mao apologises for China's erstwhile hostile attitude towards Yugoslavia. In it he expresses his anti-Stalinism and states that he shares anti-Stalinism with the Titoists and thus follows their line.**

**It was Enver Hoxha who never thought of removing these two "labels" that Stalin had quite rightly given to Tito and Mao, as the revisionists have done.**

**The crimes of the Titoists and Maoists are indelible.**

**For us Stalinist-Hoxhaists, the resolution of the Cominform condemning Yugoslavia is still valid and we will defend the Cominform on all points where it acted correctly, even against the Maoists who can "criticise" Titoism as much as they like. In truth, the Maoists are anti-Stalinists, they are defenders of Titoism and they defend Dimitroff's treachery against Stalin.**

## **PART III**

**12**

### **The Cominform, Enver Hoxha and the PSRA**

**In April 1946, the Yugoslav revisionists had advised the CPA to accept and conclude treaties with the American imperialists. [!]**

**The minutes of the meeting between Tito and Stalin in Moscow on 27 May 1946, prepared by the CPY leadership, show that Tito concealed his hostile intentions towards Albania and posed to Stalin as a "promoter and protector" of Albania. In truth, Tito had long since decided to make Albania the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. He concealed this from Stalin, who only found out later from Enver Hoxha himself. When asked by Stalin, Tito gave a negative assessment of Enver Hoxha. In truth, Tito left no stone unturned to overthrow Enver Hoxha.**

**Shortly before the Cominform was formed, Enver Hoxha had his first meeting with Stalin on 16 July 1947 in Moscow, where Enver Hoxha had already reported on the conflicts with Tito. Enver Hoxha met Stalin for the second time on 21 March 1949, at a time when the Titoists had already been expelled from the Cominform. Enver Hoxha describes the period between the first and second meeting with Stalin as follows:**

**"The period from the beginning of November 1947 to March, April 1948 will go down in history as one of the most difficult and dangerous periods that our party and our people have ever gone through." (Enver Hoxha "The Titoists", page 393).**

**Tito wanted to annex Albania and liquidate the CPA. This victorious battle against Titoism was one of the most glorious battles of the CPA in the history of the struggle against modern revisionism.**

**At the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA and at the 1st Party Congress, the crimes of the Titoists were exposed and condemned [see for this the documents of Enver Hoxha and the PLA, which we have now published in Albanian and German].**

**Enver Hoxha:**

**Paper delivered at the Tirana Party Conference, on the analysis and conclusions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania.**

**4 October 1948**

**(Excerpt from Volume 1 of the Selected Works - pages 702- 802)**



**Enver Hoxha:**

**Report at the 1st Party Congress of the PAA.**

**8 November 1948**

**(Excerpt: Selected Works, Volume 2; Chapter III THE PARTY - Struggle against Titoism, pages 106 - 122)**



**Enver Hoxha:**

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TITOISM AND THE DEVIATIONS**

## **FROM THE PARTY LINE**

**31 March 1952**

**(Excerpt: Selected Works, Volume 2; Report to the 2nd Party Congress of the PLA, pages 239 -254)**



**In his second meeting with Stalin, Enver Hoxha said:**

**"In the light of these documents [Enver Hoxha meant Stalin's 3 letters to the CPJ as well as the resolution of the Cominform - adopted at the second conference]**

**, which appeared at a very critical moment for our Party and our people, the CC gained complete clarity about the character and aims of Yugoslav interference in Albania."**

**To this Stalin replied:**

**"Our letters to the Yugoslav leadership do not contain everything, for many things came to light only later. We did not know that the Yugoslavs, under the pretext of defending your country against an invasion by the Greek fascists, wanted to bring units of their army into the VRA. In doing so, they tried to proceed clandestinely. In reality, they had thoroughly hostile intentions, because they wanted to change the situation in Albania. The information you gave us about the matter was important, because otherwise we would not have known anything about the divisions they wanted to move into your territory. The Yugoslavs have made insinuations that the Soviet Union has allegedly approved this move! If you think that you should have been more vigilant, then it must be said that in reality not only you but also others lacked vigilance with regard to relations with Yugoslavia."**

**Enver Hoxha met with Stalin for the third time in Sukhumi in November 1949.**

**On the way there, Enver Hoxha visited Rakosi in Budapest, where the third conference of the Cominform was being held at the same time.**

**In Sukhumi, Enver Hoxha announced that Tito had denounced the Yugoslav-Albanian Friendship Treaty on 2 November.**

**Albania, meanwhile, was developing its principled anti-revisionist line in the struggle against Titoism.**

**"From the first direct clash with the Titoist variant of modern revisionism we were to emerge victorious. And when in April 1948 the letters of the CC of the CPSU to the Yugoslav revisionist leadership fell into our hands, our satisfaction would be great and justified. In the principal content of these letters we saw, among others, the affirmation of the correctness of the struggle in which we had thrown ourselves. This happened when we were unaware that the CPSU leadership, with Stalin at its head, had long been waging the same struggle against the Belgrade renegades". (Enver Hoxha, "The Titoists", pages 395-396)**

**This quotation from Enver Hoxha expresses not only the isolation of the CP of Albania by the CPJ at that time, but also that of all other communist parties, the cause of which can ultimately already be sought in the dissolution of the Comintern, in which Tito and Dimitroff had participated. To overcome this isolation, that was Stalin's will, that was one of his reasons for creating the Cominform. With the Cominform, Stalin tried to overcome the isolation within the entire communist world movement, with great success, as can be seen from the example of Albania.**

**Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the Titoists in his historical notes, "The Titoists", page 414:**

**" Their main aim was to make our country a seventh republic of Yugoslavia, to put it under the command of Belgrade and turn it into a colony of Yugoslavia; our independence was to be formal, camouflaged and disguised with the forms of bourgeois pseudo-independence. This charge [Tito's accusation about Albania's alleged "anti-Yugoslavism" - note W.E.] was aimed at detaching Albania from the socialist camp, dividing it with the Soviet Union and dragging our party along the anti-Marxist road. Albania was to be for the Yugoslav Trotskyists that small state of the socialist camp in which they would carry out the first experiment for the realisation of their treacherous line against socialism."**



**One cannot deny membership of the Cominform to one people's democracy only to be able to exclude another better ?!!! What has this undemocratic arbitrary measure to do with Marxism-Leninism? Nothing! We Stalinists-Hoxhaists criticise the Cominform for refusing the Albanian People's Democracy membership in the Cominform.**

**On 13 December 1947, Stalin informed Tito of the Albanian government's request for a delivery of 5 thousand tons of oats from the USSR, and inquired whether Yugoslavia had any objections.**

**Two days later Tito replied to the ambassador that the supplies from the USSR were not necessary: Albania would receive the oats from Yugoslavia. But the oats promised by Yugoslavia never arrived in Albania. Even after the meeting in Moscow, in the second half of February 1948, Lavrent'ev tried to find out in a conversation with Kardej why no oats had been delivered. Kardelj explained this with a misunderstanding and lack of cooperation between the corresponding government agencies in Yugoslavia.**

**At the meeting between the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on 10 February 1948, Stalin condemned Tito's attempts to invade Albania with a Yugoslav division.**

**"Our People's Republic is (...) surrounded by capitalist states and by the Yugoslav revisionists" (Enver Hoxha, 16 November 1960).**

**Later, Albania was surrounded by the entire bourgeois-revisionist world and was the last and only socialist state in which the ideology of Hoxhaism prevailed.**

**It should not be forgotten that the Cominform excluded not only Yugoslavia but also Albania's membership. Even after studying Enver Hoxha's records of his meetings with Stalin, which took place, among other things, at the very time when Albania's application to join the Cominform was rejected, no answer can be found to the question of whether and how Stalin and Enver Hoxha did or did not talk about this. However, we cannot exclude and suspect that the Cominform and Albania's rejected application for admission were discussed.**

**We must also remember that the Cominform resolution against Titoism ends with the sentence of a conciliatory gesture:**

**"The Information Bureau has no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia can fulfil this honourable task [of self-criticism and correction of its wrong course - W.E]."**

**We contrast this conciliatory attitude in this Cominform resolution with the Marxist-Leninist attitude of comrade Enver Hoxha:**

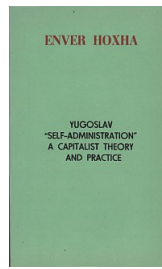
**"Are there not worrying manifestations of modern revisionism in the other parties? Those who deny this are closing their eyes to this danger. Our Party is of the opinion that the failure to completely expose the Tito revisionist group and the deceptive "hopes" for an alleged "improvement" and positive "turn" of this group of traitors are due to the versöhnler inclinations, the wrong stand and the wrong assessment of the dangerous Titoist revisionist group by Khrushchev and several other Soviet leaders. We will fight against modern revisionism, especially against Yugoslav titoist revisionism non-stop, in all severity and without any compromise." (Enver Hoxha's speech of 16 November 1960 in Moscow)**

**further leading documents of comrade Enver Hoxha:**



**Speech, delivered at the meeting of 81 Communist and Worker's Parties**  
**in Moscow on November 16, 1960**





## **YUGOSLAV "SELF-ADMINISTRATION"** **- A CAPITALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE**

**Looking back on the Cominform period, especially after the XXth Party Congress of the CPSU, comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his memoirs:**

**It is a well-known fact that Khrushchev, especially in the aftermath of the 20th Party Congress of February 1956, in collaboration with Tito, pulled out all the stops to overturn the situation in all the then People's Democratic countries. As I have written above, among the first measures undertaken by Khrushchev was the rehabilitation of those convicted in the Kominform period and their promotion to the party and state leaderships of the then People's Democracies. In turn, the following were rehabilitated: Rajk in Hungary, Gomulka in Poland, Kostoff in Bulgaria; the so-called "movement for democratisation", for the "review of the decisions taken under the influence of Stalin and the Kominform Bureau", etc. broke out. In numerous countries, the "new line" of reconciliation with the enemies of the time, of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, etc., became... law. Neither the other formerly people's democratic countries of Europe nor Mao Zedong's China were left behind in this whole gallop.**

**Tito viewed this process with satisfaction and left no stone unturned to give it new impetus and push it forward in his interest. Hoping that the time had come to take up the banner, he not only once declared that the socialist order was "itself to blame" for everything that had happened, consequently "dogmatic", "Stalinist" socialism would have to be overthrown and the Yugoslav order, "vital", "humane self-government" would have to be established.**

**Many were deceived or could hardly wait for this betrayal, which now became codified and official ideology. Only our party and our country have steadfastly held to the former line." (Enver Hoxha: "The Titoists", pages 657-658)**



## **The Cominform and its Firm Place in the Epoch of World Socialism**

**The longer one deals with the criticism of the Cominform, the deeper one goes into detail, the clearer and more distinct our line of demarcation must be, especially after the historical experience of the betrayal of the modern revisionists and the social-fascist developments within the world communist movement.**

**We reject the criticism of the neo-revisionists that the Comintern (SH) takes a Trotskyist line vis-à-vis the Cominform. The reverse is true: Neo-revisionists are at best defenders of the anti-revisionism of the Cominform in words, but in deeds they continue the treachery of the modern revisionists under the guise of Marxism-Leninism.**

**It was the Trotskyists who collaborated with the Titoists in the Spanish Civil War, in the Yugoslav partisan struggle under the guidance of British intelligence, in the struggle against the Soviet Union and against the world socialist camp - and today in the struggle against the construction of a Stalinist-Hoxhaist world camp.**

**The Trotskyists praise Tito's "anti-Stalinism" and at the same time criticise Tito's nationalism. Above all, the Trotskyists criticise Tito for not having made an open break with Stalinism earlier, thus not overcoming the "Stalinist remnants". But in essence, Titoists and Trotskyists remain united in the struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism to this day. Just as Tito was then a splitter of the world socialist camp, the Trotskyists continue to be splitters of the world communist movement.**

**Titoism and Trotskyism are closely related branches of the imperialist ideology to split and decompose the proletarian ideology in order to adapt to the ideology of the bourgeoisie.**

**We Stalinists-Hoxhaists lead the struggle against both Trotskyism and Titoism on the ground of Stalinism-Hoxhaism. When the neo-revisionists call us "Trotskyists", they do so in the service of counterrevolution, they make themselves accomplices of world imperialism, they are enemies of world socialist revolution, world socialism and world communism.**

**With the liquidation of the Cominform, the world socialist camp was liquidated and with it the whole world communist movement. But through the operation of the dialectical principle of negation of negation, the Marxist-Leninist World Movement with the Party of Labour of Albania at its head developed in the struggle against the betrayal of the modern revisionists against the Cominform and the world socialist camp. And from the neo-revisionist betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement led by the Party of Labour of comrade Enver Hoxha, the Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement led by the Comintern (SH) developed.**

**Who were the enemies of the Cominform ?**

**The enemies of the Cominform were enemies of the international Stalin front.**

**They were enemies of the international doctrine of world proletarian organisation.**

**They were enemies of the international doctrine of world proletarian ideology.**

**They were enemies of the international doctrine of the world communist movement.**

**Without Stalinism, there would have been no Cominform.**

**And without Cominform there would be no leadership of the world socialist camp, which would perish without leadership.**

**This interrelation corresponds to the dialectical unity of ideology, organisation and movement.**

**Without the development of proletarian ideology there is no development of proletarian world organisation.**

**And without proletarian world organisation there is no development of the communist world movement.**

**1. Stalinism-Hoxhaism illuminates the road to world socialist revolution.**

**2. the Comintern (SH) shows the way to the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement to mobilise the masses to lead them to the world socialist revolution.**

**The Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement is treading the path of the world socialist revolution as the conscious revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and its allied classes.**

**1**

**What determines the development of the world proletarian organisation?**

**The development of the world proletarian organisation as the highest form of organisation of the world proletariat is determined by how far it succeeds in raising the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement to the highest level of development of proletarian ideology in order to enable the world proletariat in the class struggle to bring about the victory of the world socialist revolution. The Comintern (SH) is the captain of the proletarian ship which it steers safely into the harbour of world socialism with the help of the compass of the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.**

**2**

**What determines the development of proletarian ideology ?**

**The development of proletarian ideology is determined by the degree of its conformity with the objective development of class society and the class struggle objectively going on in it in general, and by the degree of conformity of the development of the world proletarian organisation with the development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement in particular. It is the proletarian world organisation that drives the development of the proletarian ideology and with it constantly expands and deepens the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement. In the initial period, the bourgeois intelligentsia had elaborated scientific socialism. In contrast, today scientific socialism is being further developed under the leadership of the Comintern (SH). It is quite in accordance with the laws of dialectical materialism that bringing socialism to the working class must in turn enable the working class to master and develop socialist science without and against the bourgeois intelligentsia, as the working class in Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union and the working class in socialist Albania under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha have so impressively and convincingly demonstrated. The world proletariat is the carrier of the proletarian ideology and determines its development itself, not spontaneously, but through the Comintern (SH). The carrier of the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism today is the Comintern (SH). Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the compass of the ship with which the world proletariat reaches the shore of world socialism.**

### **3**

**What determines the development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement ?**

**The development of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is generally determined by how far it succeeds in giving a Stalinist-Hoxhaist character to the class struggle of the workers' movement. In particular, the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is determined by the degree to which the development of proletarian ideology coincides with the development of the Communist International, which sets the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement in motion and directs it in the right direction. By means of the proletarian world organisation, the proletarian ideology is not adapted to the consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement, but vice versa. The consciousness of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement is adapted to the more developed proletarian ideology by means of the proletarian world organisation. The Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement is the decisive force that propels the ship of the world proletariat to enter the port of world socialism.**



\* \* \*

**Stalin defined the Information Bureau as the  
"base of the united international front."**

**What did Stalin mean by this ?**

**Stalinism teaches that the Cominform was the organisational form of the political-ideological superstructure of the economic base of the world socialist camp. Under the leadership of Stalin's Soviet Union, the Cominform was at the head of that international front which was hostile (and not peaceful!) to the imperialist camp in the post-war period. The Cominform under Stalin's leadership was destined to create a basis for an international anti-imperialist front with the aim of smashing the imperialist world camp, which can never be and will never be eliminated without revolutionary violence, i.e. by peaceful means. The victory of the world socialist camp over the world imperialist camp means the end of the age of world capitalism and thus the beginning of the transition to world socialism, which will be built on the ruins of world imperialism. Under the conditions prevailing at the time, the world socialist camp was the extension of the already existing world revolutionary lever formed by Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union. In the view of the Comintern (SH), Stalin's Cominform was a great victory of the world socialist revolution because, by extending the already existing lever, it got new impetus and more leverage to "unhinge(l)" the world imperialist camp.**

**Stalinism teaches:**

**The more we succeed in lengthening the lever of the world socialist revolution, the more we thereby increase its leverage.**

**This is the Comintern's (SH) definition of the essence of the Cominform and its international significance as an extended lever of the world socialist revolution.**

**Today - without a world socialist camp - the Comintern (SH) is the only basis and lever of the world socialist revolution. According to the teachings of Stalinism, the leverage of the Comintern (SH) is increasing through the extension of its arms, and especially through the creation of new sections. It is above all the sections that are currently the extended arms of the Comintern (SH) - in more and more countries. The lesson of the creation of the Cominform, applied to today's conditions, is the lesson of strengthening the Comintern (SH) through the creation of new sections.**

**The Cominform teaches that the world socialist camp cannot be built without a leading common and democratic-centralised class organisation.**

**Without a communist world movement there is no world organisation and vice versa, the communist world movement cannot develop further without its world organisation.**

**The proletarian International has never gone down and will never go down. It is and remains the guiding force in the entire history of the development of the communist world movement up to the time of world communism.**

**Its importance has grown steadily despite the setbacks - starting from the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, to the First and Second Internationals, from the Comintern to the Cominform, to the Comintern (SH).**

**The doctrine of the indispensability of the continuation and further development of the leading role of the proletarian International in the transition to world socialism and world communism is one of the most important doctrines of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.**

**The Cominform is the organisational form for leading the world socialist camp and thus forms a certain stage of development of the organisational form of leadership in the history of the world communist movement. With every further development of the communist world movement, the organisational form of its leadership also developed further - and vice versa.**

**If we trace the origins of the international forms of organisation of the proletariat, it is generally accepted that the Communist Manifesto played a key role in this. It was first the programme of the Communist League in Germany and later became the programmatic guide of every Marxist movement in the world. The truth is that the Communist Manifesto could not be applied in practice other than through the leadership of the communists, who were initially the driving force in the existing proletarian parties. With the founding of the First International, the Communist Manifesto became the programmatic basis of the world communist movement and has remained so to this day. Thus, no communist today can doubt that the Communist Manifesto could not be anything other than the most original and general basis of the Cominform, which is of course denied by the bourgeois-revisionist historians and their neo-revisionist followers.**

**The Communist Manifesto states that the communists "in the various national struggles of the proletarians emphasise and bring to bear the common interests of the whole proletariat, independent of nationality, on the other hand, by always representing the interest of the whole movement in the various stages of development through which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie passes."**

**How did Stalin apply the Communist Manifesto with the method of historical and dialectical materialism to the conditions of the post-war period more unsurpassed than anyone else ?**

**At that time, the proletarians in the countries liberated from Hitler's fascism, conducted their struggle for the construction of socialism within the given national framework, but in its significance a work that reached far beyond the national framework. After the deep shocks of war and all its millions of victims, this was a heroic work of world historical significance. It is high time that we finally pay due tribute to the magnificent efforts of the working class and the poor peasants in building the world socialist camp. They prove to us today that the working class and the poor peasants, despite the greatest privations and losses due to the war, were able to muster so infinite strength and enthusiasm that today we are all the more firmly convinced that we ourselves, despite the greatest difficulties, can muster the same proletarian strength and the same enthusiasm of proletarian internationalism to build a new world socialist camp under the leadership of our Stalinist-Hoxhaist Cominform. The working class has proved in Stalin's world socialist camp that they have won all their gains not by the modern revisionists but by their own sweat and blood - and that in spite of the betrayal of the modern revisionists !**

**Stalin acted in the spirit of the Communist Manifesto when, on the one hand, with the foundation of the Cominform, he emphasised and brought to bear the common interests of the proletariat in the whole socialist camp, independent of the national framework of the construction of socialism. On the other hand, in the various struggles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, that is, both his struggles against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the world socialist camp, Stalin always represented the interests of the entire world proletariat and the world communist movement.**

**No one else could solve this greatest task in the history of communism as brilliantly as the great Stalin, the true leader of the world proletariat, the world socialist revolution and the socialist camp !**

**And what did the editor-in-chief of Kominform, the "red professor" Judin, write in the Kominform organ on the 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto ? The following quotation needs no comment. In it the antagonistic contradiction between the Stalinist and revisionist conceptions of the Communist Manifesto is more than clear:**

**"The concrete embodiment of Marxism's ideas about the unity of the working class with the majority of working people can be seen today in the new democracies. This idea of the united front was consistently developed in Yugoslavia [!!!]." (February 1948 issue of the Cominform organ.**

**- Only 4 months [!!] later the same Judin condemns Titoism in the Yugoslavia resolution of the Kominform! An opportunism not to be surpassed! A document of self-exposure of the modern revisionists. A document of the betrayal of the modern revisionists of comrade Stalin's Cominform !**

**The Cominform failed not because of Stalin's correct line, but because of the modern revisionists who steered the Cominform into revisionist waters in order to sink it to the bottom of the sea.**

**The lessons about the Cominform, about building and defending the world socialist camp in the struggle against modern revisionism - these are important lessons of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, which are fundamental for the building of the future world revolutionary camp or its transformation into the World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.**

**Let us raise the banner of Stalin's Cominform and cleanse it with Hoxhaism from the rust of the modern revisionists.**

**With the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, let us remove the fresh "red" paint with which the neo-revisionists whitewash the modern revisionists' betrayal of Stalin's Cominform!**

**Forward with the world socialist revolution !**

**Long live the newly emerging world socialist camp !**

**Let us crown it by the establishment of the World Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics - on the ruins of the shattered imperialist world camp !**

**Long live the dictatorship of the world proletariat !**

**Forward on the road to world socialism and world communism !**

**Long live the Comintern (SH) and the sections as its extended arms of the world socialist revolution in all countries of the world !**

**Long live Stalinism-Hoxhaism !**

**LONG LIVE THE STALINIST-HOXHAIST COMINFORM !**

**Once we have led the socialist revolution to victory with our sections in several countries, we will create the new Cominform (SH) there as a federation of all victorious sections, which will lead the new world socialist camp.**

**The Comintern (SH) will always remain the leading world party, which will then also create another Cominform as a union of the sections of all countries where the socialist revolution has not yet won.**

**This will then be two parallel Cominforms led by the Comintern (SH).**

**With the support of the two Cominforms ...**

**(one Cominform within the new world socialist camp and the other Cominform within the old world imperialist camp).**

**... the Comintern (SH) will then lead the entire world proletariat to the victory of the world socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the world proletariat.**

